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US Praises Raid

World Condemns Israeli Air Strike

Israeli warplanes attacked the Palestine Liberation Organisation political headquarters in Tunisia October 1. More than 60 people, mostly Palestinians, are known killed in the raid and nearly 100 wounded. No PLO leaders were hurt.

Reports from Hammam al-Shat, the PLO headquarters about 20 kilometres south of Tunis, said eight Israeli warplanes took part in the morning raid. They said a meeting of PLO leadership was scheduled to have taken place at the time of the raid, but had been postponed. Top Israeli military officers claim to have known of the meeting and therefore planned the raid to take place at a time when as many of the leaders as possible would be in the area.

PLO Chief Yasir Arafat was actually on his way to headquarters at the time after returning from Morocco. He reportedly changed his mind at the last moment and went instead to his deputy's office.

Among the buildings hit in the raid was Arafat's residence which falls within the PLO offices' compound. Four other buildings housing Fatah's Force 17 and other residences of PLO officials were completely destroyed in the five-minute raid.

World reaction to the raid was all unfavourable except from the United States. A statement issued by the White House said "retaliation against terrorist attacks is a legitimate response and an expression of self-defence."

On the other hand, Arab countries, Western European countries and non-aligned states all denounced the raid. In Israel, reaction was more favourable, while in the occupied West Bank Palestinians denounced the raid as "an attempt to annihilate the whole Palestinian people."

Criticism levied against Israel centred around the effect the raid would have on the peace process. It was virtually a unanimous world opinion that the Israeli action had hindered the peace initiative spearheaded by Arafat, Jordan's King Hussein and Husni Mubarak of Egypt. Mubarak decided not to meet an Israeli delegation expected in Egypt next week to discuss the Israeli-controlled Egyptian territory of Taba.

Here in the West Bank, *Al Fajr* responsible editor and nominated member of a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation Hanna Siniora vowed that the raid "will not prevent us from proceeding with peace efforts and we will continue with the present political moves." Siniora stressed that the raid was intended "to sabotage the peace process."

Bassam Shaka'a, elected-later-dismissed mayor of Nablus, called the raid "state terrorism." He said the raid "indicates that the Israeli strategy works towards the annihilation of the Palestinian people both in spirit and in body." Shaka'a said, "Israel does not differentiate between moderate and non-moderate Palestinians since it rejects the whole presence of the Palestinian people." Shaka'a said the Israeli aggression reflects its real intentions towards the Palestinians. He wondered at those Palestinian who believe Israel is concerned about peace and prosperity for them. Shaka'a's views were reiterated by Egypt's Mubarak who was quoted as saying that Israel "is a state that does not really want peace. That is clear."

The local Arabic dailies wrote editorials the day after the raid strongly denouncing it. *Al Sha'ab* said the raid carries a clear message to all the Arab countries and the world that "Israel's goals have not changed and these are to liquidate the

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Following Bus Attack

Settlers Terrorise Halhoul

by Maher Abukhater

The West Bank town of Halhoul lived through a terrifying night September 26.

Hundreds of settlers from nearby Kiryat Arba rampaged through the Arab town of 20,000 setting shops on fire, destroying cars and stoning houses. The settler riot continued unabated for more than three hours despite the presence of Israeli soldiers at the town entrance.

Settlers converged on the town following an incident involving a bus Kiryat Arba settlers were riding. Israeli Egged bus no. 60 came under automatic fire around 7:00 pm September 26 as it was travelling through Halhoul. Seven passengers were injured in the attack. According to residents in the area, they heard shots but believed the fire had come from settlers. Minutes later, they said, Israeli army units came to their homes and arrested several local men who were taken to Kiryat Arba for questioning. Two hours later the men were released.

The Israeli military then placed Halhoul under total, round-the-clock curfew for three days. They also set up roadblocks at the various entrances to the town.

According to residents of the town, which lies just outside Hebron, settlers began arriving in Halhoul about three hours after the bus ambush. They said the Kiryat Arba settlers arrived in a convoy of cars and on horseback. The settlers reportedly gathered near the site of the attack.

Abd al-Hamid Salim, who lives in the area, told *Al Fajr* he watched the settlers gather on the main street and then divide into groups, each entering a separate section of town where they planned to terrorise the population. Salim said his house was the first attacked by the settler militias. Salim's glassed-in balcony was completely destroyed by the stone-throwing mob.

Salim told *Al Fajr* the settlers addressed the population over loudspeakers telling them they intended to revenge the bus attack. He said that following each speech over the loudspeaker, settlers would throw stones at his house and others nearby. Salim said he and his family members were forced to take cover in the inner rooms of his home to escape injury from the stones and flying glass.

The most damage occurred to the town mosque, near where the bus attack took place. According to eyewitnesses, the settlers stoned the front windows of the mosque. But the glass remained intact because of a metal screen protecting it. The screen had been installed following previous stonings at the mosque by settlers. Similar screens could be seen protecting the front porches of Halhoul residences. Residents said they had anticipated such settler terrorism, this mob attack being the fourth such incident since the establishment of Kiryat Arba settlement.

Halhoul residents told *Al Fajr* that after the settlers failed to smash the mosque's front windows, they broke into the backyard and smashed the back windows. Flying glass could be seen at the mosque entrance and inside where worshippers kneel to pray. Broken windows could also be seen in all homes in the mosque's vicinity.

Several cars were also damaged in the rampage. At the residence of Badr Jahshan, who was arrested before the settler attack along with his two sons, the settlers destroyed a small tractor the family used to plough their land. The settlers also damaged the Jahshan car which was parked outside the home. A total of 20 cars and buses were reportedly damaged. At least one resident said that in addition to breaking his car windows, the settlers also slashed the tyres.

The settlers reportedly tried to set fire to several Halhoul shops but failed because the shops were protected by metal gates. At one carpentry shop settlers set fire to wood blocks outside hoping the fire would spread. However, a Hebron fire team dispatched to the area was able to extinguish the fire before it caused any serious damage. A barn was also set on fire but damage was slight.

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Abd al-Hamid Salim points to the smashed screen of his television set. His home was first to be attacked in the settler rampage.

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Israel: 'No Peace' to Hussein and PLO

News Analysis
by Daoud Kuttab

Two events this week clarified Israel's position *vis-a-vis* the latest joint drive for peace by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Israel's refusal to accept new ideas put forth in King Hussein's UN speech and its bombing of PLO headquarters in Tunis unmistakably show Israel to be against peace.

In the first incidence, the Israeli government did not accept the latest set of compromises offered by Hussein in his speech to the UN General Assembly. Hussein offered, for the first time, to carry out negotiations with the government of Israel "promptly and directly, under the basic tenets of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338." Israel's Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who was in New York at the time, flatly rejected Hussein's peaceful overture. Shamir's deputy in Jerusalem and fellow Likud member Moshe Arens echoed Shamir's position. Arens, a former defence minister, said that Hussein's speech offered nothing new.

While Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres and other Labour Party officials were less rejectionist, they also refused to accept outright Hussein's proposal and instead opted to afford the speech merely a cautious welcome.

Israel's rejection stems from the simple fact that the state cannot face the prospect of serious negotiations with the Arabs. For the first time in a number of decades, the Arabs have stopped saying 'No' to negotiations. This Arab attitude is an embarrassment to Israel which has for a long time lived off its bluff that it was ready for peace. In reality, Israel knows that peace means territorial concessions. Such concessions are a nightmare to Israelis. Some experts have gone so far as saying that a substantial Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories might ignite a civil war inside Israel. Therefore Israeli policy has been consistently to portray the Arabs as those rejecting peace.

In order to make things difficult for the Arabs, Israel tied a long string of conditions onto their supposed willingness to talk with the Arabs or to allow the US to carry on the dialogue. The Israeli conditions have only increased as Arabs have moved to meet them. First, the UN Resolutions 242 and 338 were mandatory. When the PLO conditionally accepted these, Israel introduced the idea of direct talks. When King Hussein agreed to direct talks, Israel rejected the international conference.

Israeli officials say they cannot agree to negotiations conducted under the auspices of a conference sponsored by countries with no diplomatic relations with Israel. A quick look back at recent Mideast history is enough to refute such Israeli claims. In 1974 Israel accepted to sit down at the same international conference with the same five world powers. The USSR and China also then did not have diplomatic relations with Israel. Why does Israel reject now what it agreed to then?

Israel has also been intransigent in its rejection of the PLO. While Israeli leaders say they want to talk to representatives of the Palestinian people, they continually reject talks with the PLO. According to these leaders, the PLO is a terrorist organisation bent on the destruction of Israel. Israelis insist on this point when they know that in recent years the PLO has come a long way in accepting the existence of Israel.

The PLO has also shown serious willingness to negotiate with Israel on the basis of a two-state solution. Most countries of the world realise this and have recognised the PLO as representing the Palestinians. Even British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has come to the understanding that the PLO is indeed interested in peace.

For Israel this international support for the PLO coupled with hints from the United States about possible talks with the PLO has turned Arafat into Israel's no. 1 enemy. PLO Chairman Arafat became the target not, as Israel says, because he was behind anti-Israeli operations, but precisely because he was moving in the direction of negotiations.

Even after Israeli planes atacked the PLO headquarters in Tunis, many Israeli papers continued to question the notion that Arafat was behind the incident in Larnaca last week in which three Israelis were killed. *The Jerusalem Post* said October 2 that "It is still not clear that the PLO was behind the Larnaca killings." Israeli and Cypriot officials themselves reported that PLO representatives in Nicosia were called in to help end the hijacking of the Israeli yacht.

The whole world knows that the PLO publicly stated it had nothing to do with the Larnaca attack, and even went as far as condemning the killings despite the fact that there were reports the three were aiding the Israeli navy in its sea piracy actions of Palestinian-commandeered vessels in international waters.

King Hussein's UN speech coupled with Jordan and the PLO's joint steps for peace have clearly placed Israel in an embarrassing situation. What better way to get out of the peace corner than to bomb PLO headquarters and get US support as well?

الدرب

لن نقول وداعا

Last issue allowed of *Al Darb*.

Israel Acts on Threat to Close Al Darb

Israeli threats to close *Al Darb* Arabic weekly were finally acted upon this week. The five-month-old paper was ordered closed down beginning October 1.

The closure order came only one week after a meeting between Jerusalem commissioner Rafael Levy and *Al Darb* Editor Dr Hanna Hallaq. In the meeting Hallaq and his lawyer Elias Khoury presented Levy with information refuting Israeli allegations that the paper was financially supported by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), a faction of the PLO.

Khoury immediately filed an appeal with the Israeli High Court of Justice for an order *nisi* delaying the closure until the court's discussion of the cases. Though he failed to obtain the order *nisi*, Khoury was promised that a session of the court will take place on October 6.

Journalists in the occupied territories said Levy did not really study the evidence presented to him by Hallaq. In fact Levy was quoted on Israel Radio, only minutes after the meeting emphasising the accuracy of incriminating information he alleged to have and restating his intention to close *Al Darb*. Observers charge the authorities with making their decision purely on political grounds.

The closure decision met with approval from settlers and Knesset members of the extremist Tehiya movement as well as those from the Likud. Commenting on the decision, MK Geula Cohen (Tehiya) told Israeli press that the Israeli government is doing now what should have been done a long time ago. "Israel has many laws against the PLO," she said. She called on the government to put those laws into practice and wage a war against the Arabic newspapers opposing the state of Israel.

The arbitrary closure was denounced, however, by residents and institutions of the occupied territories. In a statement published in the Arabic press by the Arab Journalists Association, the union condemned the Israeli step as a repressive measure against freedom of expression and basic human rights. "It is based on false allegations," the statement said. The union also called upon world opinion to intervene immediately to stop the Israeli campaign against newspapers and journalists in the occupied territories.

In its editorial, *Al Ittihad* Arabic daily published in Israel also condemned the Israeli act saying that "even the facade of democracy is not maintained by the authorities any more and that united Jerusalem which the authorities fought for and had so many Israelis killed for is again divided by practices they enforce here that they cannot enforce in Israel itself."

The union of Arab lawyers also condemned the act as aiming at the silencing of the Palestinian voice. A cable of support and solidarity was sent to *Al Darb* from the US branch of the International Organisation of Journalists. A similar cable of protest was received from the committee to the Israeli Embassy in Washington, reported *Al Darb* in its last edition, September 28.

A press conference for Palestinian and Israeli journalists, as well as an audience of nearly 70 persons, was held in the Israeli press office at Beit Agron October 2. Speakers condemned the closure and spoke on Israeli policy in the occupied territories.

32 Najah Students Hit by Israel's 'Fist'

Thirty two students at an-Najah University have so far been personally affected by harsh Israeli measures, including imprisonment, possible deportation and town arrest.

Such figures were released in a statement September 18 by the Public Relations Office of the largest university in the occupied territories.

Israeli military authorities closed an-Najah August 2 for two months, claiming they found inciting literature on campus. This occurred just two weeks before the summer semester was to end. Since then authorities have placed 15 of the university's students under administrative detention (detention without trial), placed six others under town arrest and are scheduled to deport two others pending a high court ruling. Closure of the university meant that nearly 3000 students could not pursue their education, hundreds of whom were to graduate in September.

This is the sixth time Israeli authorities have closed an-Najah since March of 1983. On three occasions the university was also closed for several days because of roadblocks set up by the Israeli army at all entrances to the campus. The total days of closure add up to 255 since 1983, according to the press release.

The university administration rejected the stated reasons for which authorities closed the institution and maintained the view that the closure was merely an arbitrary measure to hamper the educational process in the occupied territories. "In what has become a yearly affair, the authorities have taken an unprovoked and arbitrary measure for reasons which we can guess, but which have absolutely nothing to do with the maintenance of order and the preservation of peace," said the press release.

Asqalan, Jenin Prisoners Go On Hunger Strike

by Khalil Touma

Palestinian political prisoners in both Asqalan and Jenin prisons began an open-ended hunger strike this week.

They join the protests of their relatives at the offices of the International Red Cross (ICRC) in Gaza and Jenin.

The Asqalan prison protest follows a series of brutal acts by prison guards against Palestinian detainees. The prison guards and border police stormed prisoners' cells September 11 using teargas and clubs to force the prisoners to comply with new regulations. The regulations consist of a number of measures intended to humiliate the prisoners, among them is the rule forcing prisoners to stand at attention during pre-dawn bed checks.

Asqalan prisoners oppose the regulations which represent, they say, a return to inhumane conditions which were dispensed with following a series of prisoner protest campaigns over the last two years.

Israeli lawyer Lea Tsemel sent a letter to the Israeli League of Human Rights and the Knesset committee for internal affairs in which she protested the treatment of three of her Asqalan clients. All three she said were transferred to the prison hospital at Ramla following injuries sustained in the attack September 11.

Tsemel said a prisoner named Malaby, serving a life sentence, had a rib broken and suffered head injuries. She said that two others — Abu Stetan and Yunis — were severely beaten in the presence of the prison director.

In her letter, Tsemel said the three were chained and blindfolded before being taken to the hospital. The lawyer alleged the three were also beaten on the way to hospital and were not allowed to change their gassed clothes. She said the three are receiving only minimal treatment in hospital where they are being held in solitary confinement.

Attorneys for the prisoners have been denied permission to visit their clients. Felicia Langer, who represents many of them, filed two urgent requests with authorities for a visit with her clients but so far to no avail.

Political prisoners in the Jenin prison began their hunger strike September 29. They are protesting the maltreatment of fellow prisoners.

Lawyer Jawad Boulus, who visited several of his clients in Jenin prison, told *Al Ittihad* Arabic daily that the prisoners are striking in protest of the treatment four prisoners from Jenin's refugee camp are receiving. Boulus said the four have been locked in a room with collaborators instructed to use all means of harassments against them in order to extract confessions and information. Boulus said the Jenin prison administration promised to look into the case.

Palestinian women in one of the many sit-ins in support of prisoners at the Jerusalem Red Cross.

Family Protests

Mothers and relatives of Asqalan prisoners continued their hunger strike begun last week. They demand to be allowed to visit their sons in Asqalan prison and to know firsthand of their condition.

Reports from Gaza where the hunger strike is being staged in the ICRC office indicate that tension is high. The Israeli army has taken up positions around the Red Cross offices. They are threatening to quell the strike by force.

The hunger strike is being supported by women and institutions from all over the occupied territories who have come daily to express their solidarity with the strikers. Shows of solidarity have also come from some Israeli groups. Delegations representing the Democratic Front For Peace and Equality (DFPE), the Democratic Women's Association and Women Against Occupation have joined the strikers at the Red Cross and pledged to struggle for the rights of the prisoners.

Relatives of Jenin prisoners and various local women's organisations gathered in the ICRC offices in Jenin October 1. They held a sit-in strike in protest of the Israeli treatment of their relatives in the prison. Strikers demanded that all institutions interested in human rights interfere to put a stop to the inhumane conditions forced upon their sons.

In related events, a letter from Palestinian political prisoners in Jnaid prison in Nablus to the general director of the Prisons Authority was sent September 11. The letter indicated that the prisoners will not give in concerning their human rights and will continue to fight for them.

The letter, published in *Al Ittihad*, listed prisoner grievances and spoke against continuous attempts by the prison's administration to break previous promises made to the prisoners. The letter said the administration is following a new policy of moving many of those serving long sentences from one distant prison to another. This is intended to create even more difficulties for them and their families, said the letter.

A Palestinian prisoner from Jnaid prison died in the Ramla prison hospital October 2. Ghassan Issa, 25, from Bethlehem, was serving a five-year sentence begun in 1982. He had spent three years in the Hebron prison, before being moved recently to Jnaid.

Reports indicate that he contracted cancer this year but was left without treatment for eight months. Only then was he moved to the hospital at Ramla prison where he died.

All appeals to local and international organisations to intervene on his behalf for treatment and early release were to no avail. His family was also forbidden to visit him in the Jnaid prison a month ago, local newspapers reported.

NOTE

The satirical piece on page 6 was written prior to the Israeli airforce raid on Tunis.

Three Deported Across Araba Valley

In clear violation of international law, three Palestinians were deported to Jordan October 2 after they lost Israeli High Court appeals earlier in the week. This brings the total number of deportees since last month to 21.

The three — Amin Ramzi Maqboul from Nablus, Bahjat Jayousi from Jayous village in the Tulkarm area, and Walid Nazzal from Qabatya town near Jenin — were detained August 29. They were charged with political activity dangerous to the security of Israel. The three men, who were held pending their deportation, were taken under military guard to the Araba Valley south of the Dead Sea. They were then ordered to cross the border to Jordan. There was no word from Jordanian authorities concerning their fate.

The three were detained on orders from the Israeli Commander of the Central Region Amnon Shahak. Shahak announced soon after their arrest his intentions to deport them under British Emergency regulations of 1945. However, the three under such regulations were allowed the right of appeal to a military objections committee and then to the Israeli High Court.

In statements from the military Maqboul and Jayousi were accused of being "central members of the Fatah Movement." Nazzal was accused of being a member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). None of the three were officially charged or brought to trial.

The deportation came following a lengthy legal fight by the three men to stay. Legal appeals to Israeli courts were their only means of appeal under occupation. The Israeli High Court, in a hearing by a three-judge panel September 29, turned down their petition, thus enabling the Israeli authorities to proceed with their deportation. Lawyer Felicia Langer, who represented Maqboul and Jayousi, made a second appeal for a five-judge panel hearing. Her request postponed the actual deportation until October 2, after the court again turned down the appeal.

Earlier, the Israeli military objections committee had also refused the prisoners' appeal.

In a comment to the press, Langer deplored the fact that the highest judicial authority in Israel had taken a decision which contradicts all international conventions and norms. "We have tried all legal avenues, hours of litigation and hundreds of papers of various documents, but they ignored all that," said Langer.

Last month, the Israeli authorities deported 18 prisoners freed in the May 20 prisoner swap with the PFLP-GC. They were deported on the pretext that they did not possess Israeli ID cards. Another ex-prisoner, Khalil Abu Zayyad, left in temporary voluntary exile after he was assured the authorities would deport him permanently otherwise.

In a related story, an Israeli military court in Nablus approved on October 1 the administrative detention for six months imposed recently on 21 detainees. The court's decision, however, stated clearly that the administrative detentions seriously violate the freedom of persons. "This is not imposed by the court, rather it is imposed by the military governor," the presiding judge said in his ruling. The judge added that he did not admit the evidence of witnesses as in common proceedings but instead looked into secret material presented to him by the police. "This," the judge said, "makes the lawyer in no position to carry out his job and prove the innocence of his defendant."

The judge noted that all the detainees were not interrogated. He also admitted that in a case like this only the secret evidence presented by police is taken into consideration. He, however, agreed that the material does not really need to be of a secret nature, but said that he is not in a position to accept the lawyers' demand to reveal its contents for security reasons. "After examining the secret material," the judge said, "I found that the detainees did not commit dangerous acts themselves. They rather instruct others to do them."

Amin Maqboul in his Nablus home. He was deported October 2.

Islamic U. Nursing School Temporarily Shut

by Sami al-Aboudi

Under pressure from Israeli authorities, the founders and board of trustees of Gaza's Islamic University voted to temporarily close — or "freeze" — the school's newly established College of Nursing.

The decision, taken in Amman late in August, was made public only when the university opened September 21. Only then were returning students told they must continue their course of study in the College of General Science.

The decision followed Israeli refusal to return 18 of 34 university lecturers forced to leave the country when their work permits expired. The 34 faculty and administration members — most of whom are Palestinian — do not hold Israeli residency papers. They were forced to leave when the military government refused to renew their work and residency permits. Sixteen of the 34 were allowed in following an agreement struck between the university trustees and the military government in which only those who had been in Gaza less than three years could return.

Dr Hassna Abu Id, the current university president, told *Al Fajr* the closure decision was made in the hope that the Israelis would agree to allow the other 18 lecturers to return. The board's goodwill gesture follows the university's earlier refusal to meet three conditions put forth by Gaza's military government. The Israeli authorities, apparently angered at the Islamic University's independence, demanded the closure of the one-year-old nursing college, the authorisation of Israel to oversee the university's affairs and the placing of all university funds under the control of the Israeli authorities. When the university refused the conditions early last summer the 34 were summarily ordered out of the country.

Abu Id said the trustees were forced to close the nursing college in order to soften Israeli resistance on the status of the 18 of the 34 still out of the country. Moreover, the Israelis made it clear to the university administration that they do not object in principle to opening a College of Nursing, said Abu Id. "They repeatedly said that all we needed was to apply officially to them and they would grant permission," he said. Abu Id said that in the past the university would open a new college and then apply to the Israelis for a permit.

The closure decision was criticised by the Committee of University Employees at the Islamic University. In a paid ad published in Arabic *Al Fajr* daily on September 26, the committee "regretted" the freezing of the Nursing College, and urged all in the university and abroad to "join hands" to keep the college open.

The one-year-old Nursing College has a student body of 38, all of whom took a year of preliminary study in accordance with university regulations. The students were scheduled to start their first year of nursing this September.

Abu Id said the university not only expects to reopen the college but expects that the nursing programme will be one of the most successful colleges in the seven-year-old university. He explained the Gaza Strip needs graduates in this area. Nursing graduates have a good chance of employment in other Arab countries as well. Since its establishment in 1978, Gaza's only four-year university has come under frequent attack by Israeli authorities attempting to establish a foothold in the university's internal affairs. Israel has placed restrictions on bringing money from other Arab universities abroad sponsoring the Islamic University. They have also put restrictions on how the university spends the money, as well as on what colleges open.

The university has repeatedly rejected Israeli attempts to interfere in its affairs. With nearly 5,000 students enrolled, the Islamic University is regarded as the largest higher education institution in the occupied territories. The students are divided into six colleges: Islamic Law, Religion (Theology), Commerce and Business Administration, Sciences (Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology and Mathematics), Arts (Arabic and English Languages and Literature), and Education.

IN AKKA PERFORMANCE

Hakawati Demands Removal of Israeli Flag in Theatre

At the insistence of the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre Troupe, organisers of al-Akka Theatre Festival took down an Israeli flag displayed over the theatre stage, allowing the Jerusalem troupe to perform.

El-Hakawati was the first troupe to perform in al-Akka municipality's festival which opened on October 1.

Radi Shehadeh, a troupe member, said they were shocked when they discovered that they were to perform their well-publicised "Ali the Galilean" production under the Israeli flag. As Palestinian guests of the festival, he said, they felt insulted by the hanging of a foreign flag above the stage on which they were to perform.

Shehadeh told *Al Fajr* the troupe informed the festival organisers that they would either have to remove the flag or hang a Palestinian flag next to it. Shehadeh said they told the organisers that if the flag was not taken down, they would not perform.

After contacting the Israeli mayor of Akka, the festival organisers took down the flag and apologised to the troupe before they went on stage. Shehadeh said they were well received by the more than 1200 Arab and Jewish spectators.

Earlier in the day, Ibrahim Khalayleh, a troupe member, was questioned by local police after he posted an advertisement on a donkey's back. The poster read: "I am not going to see the Palestinian el-Hakawati Theatre Troupe because I am a donkey." *Yediot Aharonot*, which reported the story, said the police were afraid the use of the word 'Palestinian' would be provocative. The police then decided to allow Khalayleh to display the poster.

El-Hakawati members said the ingenious advertisement attracted many people to their performance.

WB TENSION MOUNTS

Boy Killed, Four Shot in Hebron

An Arab boy was killed and three Palestinians injured in the centre of Hebron September 28. The casualties followed a grenade attack on an Israeli patrol.

Israeli military sources alleged a grenade thrown by an Arab commando missed its Israeli target leading to the Palestinian casualties.

A curfew was immediately clamped on the city. Search and arrest operations were conducted.

The fatally wounded boy identified as Marwan Zaru, 11, was a fourth grade pupil. He was buried in Hebron the next day.

The injured, two of whom were women, sustained mild injuries and were transferred to Alia hospital in Hebron. The third — Dr Mohammed Jubi, a physician at Alia hospital — was transferred to Hadassah hospital in West Jerusalem. He was reported to be in serious condition.

Also in Hebron on September 29 a 70-year-old woman Nazmiya Abu Minshar was admitted to Alia hospital suffering from a bullet wound in the shoulder. The woman was wounded when soldiers opened fire on a Fiat she was travelling in. The soldiers alleged the driver refused to respond to orders to stop.

The occupied territories witnessed mounting tension almost daily last week as punitive Israeli measures begun a month ago were applied in various areas. This led to a sharp increase in resistance attacks.

The most serious attack occurred September 26 when an Israeli Egged bus was ambushed as it drove through the town of Halhoul, north of Hebron. The bus was on its way to Kiryat Arba settlement. Five settlers and two Arab workers employed by the Egged company were wounded in the attack (see separate story).

An Arab house neighbouring Kiryat Arba settlement was demolished by the Israeli army in Hebron September 26. The house belonged to the family of a 20-year-old youth arrested earlier on suspicion of stabbing two Israeli soldiers in the Casabah quarter last month. One of the soldiers died at the scene, and the other was reported in serious condition.

The military spokesperson reported the youth had acted on his own and that he was not a member in any Palestinian organisation. His name, however, was not made public by the authorities.

Another house belonging to a Gaza family from Jabalya refugee camp was also demolished on September 27. One member of the family was earlier arrested on suspicion of having fired at an Israeli vehicle. The military spokesperson declared earlier that two groups from Gaza Strip were being detained on suspicion of membership in Palestinian organisations.

One of the groups, the spokesperson alleged, had operated in the Khan Younis area while the other operated in the Jabalya region. They allegedly carried out military operations in Asqalan and the neighbouring Israeli settlement of Kiryat Malachi. This group is also accused of planting explosives, one of which caused the death of an Israeli intelligence officer.

A curfew was also clamped on the village of Sa'ir, near Hebron, September 30 after an Israeli military car came under automatic fire. Israel Radio, which reported the story, said there were no casualties in the attack.

Another roadside bomb was detonated by remote control, on the road between Jerusalem and the Israeli settlement of Ma'ale Adumim. The bomb exploded as an Israeli car passed September 26. Israeli forces rushed to the scene, and cordoned off the area. No arrests were reported.

In Haifa, nearly 150 Arabs were reportedly arrested following two explosions in the city on September 29. Israeli authorities reported that five persons were injured. One of the two bombs went off in a market and the other near a bank. Later it was reported that the interrogation was being concentrated on three suspects. In Damascus, the Fatah rebels led by Abu Mousa claimed responsibility for the attack.

A Hebron home destroyed because of alleged security offences.

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The Inevitable Result of a Double Standard

Israeli politicians and propagandists have been crying of late that the security of their state is in danger. But despite the propaganda, it is in fact security of the Arabs which is in danger, not Israel.

One has to look no farther than the situation in the occupied territories for example. The Israeli army's regular units were sent in to implement the new "get tough policy" against the population in an attempt to "safeguard" Jewish settlers. Result: four Palestinians were killed in two weeks (among them two children), tens of residents injured and an entire population humiliated. And instead of punishing the trigger-happy soldiers, the Israeli military hierarchy exonerated them. Such official positions, as we indicated in our editorial last week, have given a green light to soldiers and Israeli civilians to do what they want with Arabs without fear of retribution.

It didn't take long for our prediction to come true. Responding to an attack on an Israeli bus, Jewish settlers swept through the Arab city of Halhoul, near Hebron. The settlers, aided by racist Knesset member Meir Kahane and by other settler leaders, smashed car windshields, destroyed property including a local mosque and terrorised the city's Arab population. As in the case of soldiers' acts, these vigilante settlers were let off scot-free. Neither police nor army units even bothered to question them in order to at least maintain the facade of law and order. Such a double standard by the Israeli authorities only worsens the already volatile situation. If the lives and property of Palestinians are not protected, then Palestinians will find new and possibly unpleasant means for protecting themselves. It is totally unacceptable for Israel to cry wolf when settlers are attacked and then sit idly by when settlers go wild.

It is high time that the government of Israel faces the fact that it has to choose between continued occupation and expansion of settlements with all that entails or peace. It cannot have both.

We Will Not Despair

The Israeli air raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis was not really surprising. It followed the barrage of Israeli feverish statements against the PLO recently. These Israeli statements coincided really with the signing of the Amman agreement between the PLO and Jordan on 11 February of this year. The agreement aimed at finding a just political settlement for the ME crisis. But whatever justifications Israel may give for its raid, it will surely adversely affect the peace efforts in the area especially those Arab moves toward a settlement based on the Fez and Casablanca summits. So, while the Arabs are effectively advancing the peace process, Israel is doing its best to abort these moves through its practices against the Palestinians inside and outside.

However, the Palestinian people will never despair. It will continue with its sacrifices until it achieves its legitimate rights recognized by the UN.

Kahanism is the Byproduct of Zionism

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Israeli government officials, especially those belonging to the Labour Party, look to be embarrassed at the phenomenon of the open racism and fascist trend led by Rabbi Meir Kahane. The most recent statements 'condemning' the Kach movement were made by the President of Israel Chaim Herzog and Prime Minister Shimon Peres. They claimed that the phenomenon of Kahanism is shame on the state of Israel and that it is foreign to what they call the democratic character of the state of Israel.

But looking into Zionist ideology and into the history of the Zionist movement and its practices against the people of Palestine and other peoples in different parts of the world since its invasion of Palestine until the present, is enough for one to discover the hypocrisy in the words of the Israeli officials. They try to show that the racist and fascist Kach movement, whose leader reached the legislative body of the state of Israel, grew and flourished in foreign soil and not in the soil of the Zionist ideology, which has many similarities with Nazism. In fact, it is not their fear and worry over 'Israeli democracy' which disturbs them, but the fact that the open display of racist and fascist slogans by Kahane and other fascist groups removes the fragile mask which the Israeli establishment has maintained in an attempt to conceal its ugly face.

Israel has never been a democratic country, because an occupying state which is based on a racist ideology cannot be democratic. Kahane himself supports this when he argued in a televised interview a few months ago that Zionism runs counter to democracy. He went so far as to say that he just says what others believe but don't have the courage to say. They not only don't have the courage to say so, but they don't have the courage to reveal what they have been doing against the Palestinian people over the years.

How can Israeli officials explain the kind of democracy which granted Kahane legitimacy in the Israeli parliament which he now uses as a platform to disseminate his racist and fascist ideas, making the Arabs of Palestine the primary target. Kahane did not reach the Knesset by military power or by use of physical force. He got there through the help of the Israeli High Court of Justice and the Knesset elections committee.

For us as Palestinians who did not wait for Kahane to tell us the truth because we have learned that through experience, Kahanism is another facet of Zionism. He reflects the thinking and the policies of the Zionist establishment against Arabs. Kahane's ardent support and continued calls for the expulsion of the Arabs of Palestine is not a new development. The expulsion of most of the people of Palestine in 1948 from their homeland was carried out by the Zionists by using fascist methods before the emergence of Kahane. The Deir Yassin massacre in which 250 people were slaughtered was only one of tens of massacres carried out in 1948, whose purpose were to evacuate Palestine of Arabs and establishing a purely Jewish state 'clean' of Arabs. Also the Sabra and Shatila massacres, which recent history has rarely witnessed, were led by the Israeli government through its bloodthirsty fascist Phalangist ally, and not by the Kach movement. Of course the purpose of this massacre is in line with the Zionist policy of exterminating the Palestinian people whose survival has become a thorn in the flesh of the Zionists.

"Zionism runs counter to democracy."

But Israeli liberals also view the phenomenon of Kahane, whom they term as a *Nazi, as foreign to the state of Israel and* Zionism. This is also an attempt to blur the link between Kahanism and Zionism, and consequently the similarities between Zionism and Nazism for which the Jews were among the victims. These Israeli liberals turn a blind eye to the practices of the state of Israel against the Palestinians. Therefore, most of them by doing so serve the Zionist establishment and encourage it to continue in its fascist policies against the Arabs.

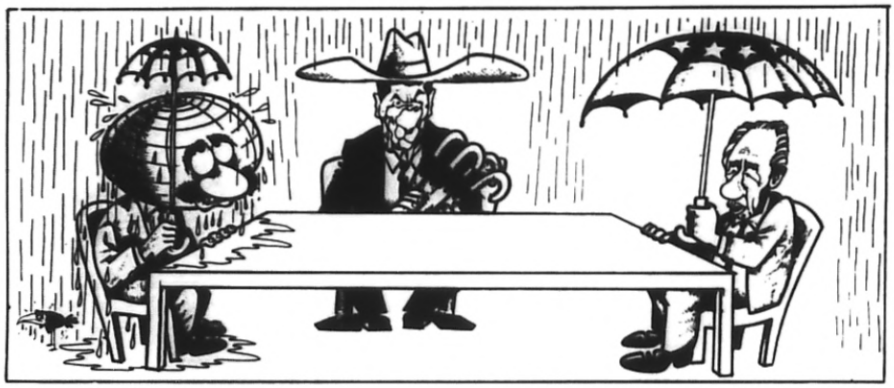
From the beginning, the Zionist movement instilled hatred and racist ideas and a feeling of superiority to other peoples among the poor Jewish masses. It exploited the sentiments of these masses who were persecuted in Europe and Czarist Russia, and taught them that Palestine is a land without people for a people without land. This is besides the chauvinistic slogans such as "chosen people of God" and the "distinct Jewish nationalism" which all served to create a closed and racist society. In this ground, racist and fascist groups have grown in Israeli society.

The question which should be asked of Israeli government officials who claim that Kahane is shame on Israel, is how can they explain their support of the apartheid regime of South Africa and their military and economic cooperation. Today it is no secret that Israel is playing a dirty role in many countries in the world and serves as a source of marketing weapons for the most dictatorial and fascist regimes and counter-revolutionary forces. The former Israeli General Matti Peled wrote (in *HaAretz* March 4, 1985): "Behind a veil of secrecy there lies a thick net of Israeli involvement all over the world in dozens of local conflicts and in the service of totalitarian regimes." He went on to write that "in central America, Israel is the contractor for dirty jobs."

In light of these facts, the pretended concern for democracy by Israeli officials is meaningless. Indeed, it is their policies which created Kahanism and Kahana is a legitimate son of Zionism. ■

Awad Abdel Fattah is a member of Al Fajr's editorial staff.

An International Umbrella of Opportunism



by Lesley Abukhater

It's raining, it's pouring, the whole world is snoring... and we're looking to an international umbrella for peace.

Politicians come, politicians go, US special envoys steal the show... and we're looking for an international conference for peace.

Yet what exactly can we expect from the international arena? A measure of goodwill, justice and concern? If so, *the time is indeed ripe, even opportune* for such an international cover for negotiations. Yet instead of opportune for peace, signs of the times point more towards an internationally opportune time for opportun*ism*.

Recently a friend of mine in academia bemoaned the fact that the easiest way to make a name for oneself these days — whether as a politician, academic or journalist — was to state a public position on the Middle East. The most unlikely people are now "specialists on the Middle East" she told me — even the daughter of a famous Washington publisher who travelled all the way to Detroit, Michigan, to interview Amal leader Nabih Berri, a few months of course before he became *persona non grata* in the States.

First on the growing list of opportunists looking for their golden key in the morass of Middle East affairs are current world leaders, alias politicians, the most opportunistic of species known to man. It doesn't particularly matter where you look — either capitalist America, socialist Europe, communist Russia, or the hodge podge the biggies call the 'third world' — politicians are having a field day with the Middle East, particularly with regards to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The most opportune of political opportunists reside, of course, in America, right under the nose of the powerful Jewish lobby. No one in their right mind could ever accuse America of neutrality in the issue of Israeli occupation or annexation versus an independent Palestinian state. That is precisely why Palestinian leaders insist on an international conference. For they know American officials are eager to be counted fans of Israel.

Election year, and for many all the years in between, is always the most opportune time to take a stand on the Middle East. Even presidents not bothered by re-election rush to go down in history as "peacemakers" and what better place to start than Israel and her 'historic' Arab enemy. Of course, since much of the history will be written by a pro-Israeli media — perhaps even George Will himself — any presidential peacemaking must be tipped decidedly in favour of the tiny Jewish state. But, after all, what does one expect from a capitalist country where personal profit *is the name of the game.*

"POLITICIANS ARE HAVING A FIELD DAY WITH THE MIDDLE EAST. PARTICULARLY WITH REGARDS TO THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT...

Then again, European socialists present no less an opportunistic, even hypocritical face. The presidents of France, Spain, and Portugal — not to judge anyone by the company he keeps — are best buddies with Israel's Labour Party leader Shimon Peres. Peres' current iron fist in the occupied territories must fit nicely on the outstretched arm of international socialism. It is easy enough for European leaders to sell their policies of governmental protection and aid of its citizenry to European unionists, but let them try their song and dance in Jnaid prison where Palestinian unionists sit in administrative detention for advocating those same socialist ideas.

The Soviet Bloc nations are a slightly different story, at least rhetorically speaking. In public, they support the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people. In private, Palestine is only one more pawn on the East-West chessboard, one more dagger directed at the American heart. They support peace talks, but only if they get a good seat. They support a free, independent Palestine — free and independent of its own people, dependent on Soviet will. For a free example, one might turn to today's Afghanistan.

Nowhere is this desire to gain power through controlling the Palestinian will more clear than in the Arab world. Again all points on the political and economic spectrum are represented in this carpet of Arab opportunism. Egypt, the home of the late great Nasser who spawned the PLO, is also the birthplace of Anwar Sadat and others like him who market a cheap brand of peace at Palestinian expense. The Saudi nation of Mecca and Medina is known for sponsoring peace resolutions and for — thank you, dear King Fahd — contributing financially to the Palestinian cause. Yet their peace plans have no more bite than a toothless gum without their all-important oil weapon. They only serve to win them the favour of succeeding American administrations who push — albeit sometimes unsuccessfully — for the US sale of strategic weapons to the Saudi king.

Perhaps most indiscreet in their use of the Palestinian problem are the neighbouring nations of Jordan and Syria. Like two sides of the same coin, they vie for the role of the PLO's sponsor, alternately accusing each other of trespassing on the independent will of the liberation movement. Yet both are frequently caught with their hand in the till. One is reminded of the old saying "it takes one to know one" and Jordan and Syria know each other well.

It would be enough to point an accusing finger at international opportunism if we weren't also faced with much of the same thing within ourselves. Palestinians have long played the role of the innocent victim, yet it is more difficult to purge the villain from within their own ranks. PLO rhetoric is particularly adept at claiming to be steadfast in the issue of Palestinian independence, yet the truth is that these days it is difficult to find a so-called independent Palestinian. They are indeed few and far between.

Liberation leaders, whether inside or out, are caught up in promoting their own faction, their own narrow interpretation of what it means to be Palestinian. And each appears, to the public at least, to follow the dictates of at least one foreign power.

Even local figures are eager to make a name for themselves in this day of political manoeuvering. Palestinian spokespersons — all claiming to understand the masses — seem to literally come out of the woodwork to stake their claim in the 'nationalist' camp. And many of these seem sadly qualified for the position.

And where does all this opportunism leave the people? Without an opportunity, that's where. The Palestinian people — almost half of whom are refugees — lack the basic opportunity to be free, to get a decent paying job, to set personal goals and attain them. In effect they remain the pawns of all self-proclaimed representatives in the local and international arena. While international opportunists make another buck, win another vote off one more day of this protracted conflict, the Palestinian people suffer. Yet, miraculously — like any ordinary Israeli, American, Russian, Nicaraguan or Greek — they survive. ■

Lesley Abukhater is a member of Al Fajr's *editorial staff.*

Future News

by Cosmo Luftmensch

Tel Aviv, ISRAEL (IOU) — Speaking to newsmen before flying to Washington, Co-Prime Ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Ariel Sharon said that yesterday's Israeli airforce bombing raid on Managua, Nicaragua had been aimed at a PLO office located in the city centre.

Simultaneously twitching their left eyebrow, the Prime Ministers said that the government of Israel had decided on the bombing run after military intelligence officers learned that Abd Husseini (age 6) — arrested outside the Jalazon refugee camp for throwing a stone at an Israeli army patrol on June 29 — had received his instructions from the PLO office in Managua.

Turning to matters closer to home, Rabin and Sharon warned the population of the occupied territories that Israel would continue its "scorched earth" policy until terrorism had been wiped out. Israel will not waive the prerogative of bombing cities under its rule, the Prime Ministers said, rejecting allegations that recent artillery attacks on Nablus violate the Geneva Convention.

Both Prime Ministers expressed their support of Finance Minister Shimon Peres' refusal to negotiate with anti-Histadrut trade union committees. "These committees," said the Prime Ministers, "are undermining Israel's economic recovery and sowing the seeds of doubt among the country's working population."

Before boarding the plane, Rabin and Sharon donned scullcaps and joined Minister of the Interior Yitzhak Peretz in a prayer for the success of the latest US peace programme.

Al Fajr Exclusive Interview

Khaled al-Hassan: America and Israel Want Stability, Not Peace

Al Fajr's Washington correspondent Ghassan Bishara *travelled to Canada last month where he interviewed prominent PLO adviser Khaled al-Hassan. Al-Hassan is originally from Haifa in occupied Palestine. One of the co-founders of the Fatah movement, al-Hassan is a member of its central committee and one of Yasir Arafat's political advisers. The following are excerpts from the interview.*

Bishara: **What is your assessment of the last Murphy visit to the Middle East?**

Al-Hassan: I think it is sort of playing the game of time. I am most certain that after the Jordanian-Palestinian accord, American policy was cornered. This accord challenged American policy. We always say that the United States does not want peace — they want stability. As far as Israeli policy goes, they want a state of no war and no peace. Therefore, the accord was a challenge to all of this strategy.

Anyway, it is not easy for the United States to withdraw from facing the challenge of peace, particularly considering the way it was introduced in the accord. They consider, and this is very well-known and documented, that Israel is their first strategic line in all of the Middle East. The domestic political and economic situation in Israel is horrible, thus Peres cannot deliver anything for the time being. The United States is pro-Peres, and because they don't want to embarrass him, they are therefore playing for time by using the name game — who's acceptable and who's unacceptable. Although, according to American terminology, they have no legitimate reason to refuse any of the names introduced because none of them are from within the administration on the PLO. This terminology is taken from the United States because members of Congress are not considered part of the Administration. That is why they are free to talk with anyone.

Anyway, I think the US is playing the game of time until they find the proper excuse to run away from it, or with the hope of extracting more concessions from the Arabs. In the case of the latter, I don't think they will get anything. Time is running out very quickly, and I think the US will finally accept the February 11 accord. The PLO does not consider the Murphy mission as a form of negotiation with the United States, but instead, sees it as an interim attempt, so that once at the table, both sides will understand each others' way of thinking about the various issues. It is important to establish, in advance, how each understands 242, the concept of peace, how they perceive the role of the PLO, their position *vis-a-vis* an international conference, etc. It's an opportunity to begin to understand more deeply the thinking of the other.

Q: You said that the United States, and maybe you meant Israel also, do not really want peace; they want the maintenance of the *status quo*. Why do you think the US believes peace does not serve their interests.

A: Because it is very clear from the articles that have been written about several responsible officials from the White House, State Department and Pentagon, that the Americans feel the Middle East is now their own. As a result of that, they don't care to see the Middle East change in a way that would threaten American interests. Also, according to American rationale, they consider the centre of their thinking in the Middle East not to be the Middle East at all, but instead Israel. The role that Israel plays in the Middle East is not the only role it plays for the benefit of the United States; its role as surrogate also extends to Latin America, Africa and throughout the Third World, politically, economically and militarily.

Therefore, they want to keep the situation as is. They don't want peace. And I don't mean stability, because peace is always related to justice. Peace without justice is not peace, but stability. Justice means to recognise the Palestinian people as people, which means to recognise their national rights as well as their representatives. Maintaining the *status quo* goes along with the strategy of Zionism represented by the government of Israel. The Americans don't want to risk conflicts between their strategy and that of their major ally in the Middle East.

Secondly, they want to keep all of the Arab countries in a state of stability based upon fear so that these countries will always rely on the support of the United States to help keep things stable in the area. Here I recall from memory an article that was written in *Newsweek*, the 30th of October, 1982. There was a series of articles, the first of which was about the Middle East in which they said now the US is happy because Israel is safe for the coming decade and perhaps longer as long as Israel has an army that is second to none in the area. As a result of that strength, there is no threat to Israel from the Arabs, so they are happy about that. They also said that in spite of the fact that after the 1982 Israeli invasion into Lebanon, and the resulting Arab bitterness that could lead to increased radicalism, officials said (the article was 90 percent anonymous quotations from American officials) that this new radicalism which may put the Palestinian and Arab radicals in one boat, may also put them in the same boat as the Islamic fundamentalists which will create domestic problems within the Arab regimes, thereby making these regimes more preoccupied with domestic affairs than in dealing with Israel. As a result, Israel will be more secure.

This is the core of the American strategy. They want stability, they do not want peace. The moment there is peace in the area, the people will begin to think about their future and development, and that is what the Americans do not want to see in an area like the Middle East which is so vital to their international policy. In addition to that, the West has succeeded in defusing the oil weapon, with the continuation of the Iran-Iraq war. The continuation of the war is drying up the resources of the rich Arabs in the Gulf, including Saudi Arabia. If we add to that inflation, and the reduction in oil prices as well as the decline in oil production, we see that the oil countries of the Gulf and Saudi Arabia cannot meet their budgetary requirements without tapping the reserves. The West wants to dry up the financial resources of the oil countries in order to put them back under their thumb and to defuse any positive leadership role which these countries were about to play in the past. All of these things together result in weak and confused regimes under the control of Western-style "stability."

As for the Israelis, it's well-known that peace means a state with borders. Peace means no *Eretz Israel* from the Nile to the Euphrates; it means that the whole philosophy of Zionism is dead; it means that Israel is no longer the place for the world's 16 million Jews to go to. Peace also means that there will be no need to continue to support the Israeli military. Here lies another contradiction within American policy and strategy in the Middle East in as much as the Soviet Union is concerned. The continuation of tensions in the Middle East enables the American government to feed the Israelis with more arms, in order to protect Israel as a link in the American chain of foreign military bases in confrontation with the Soviet Union throughout the world. Peace also means an end, or slowing of immigration to Israel, and if there is no immigration, a vital element of the Israeli economy will collapse. Therefore, the Israelis want a state of no war and no peace, so that

"THE US IS PLAYING THE GAME OF TIME UNTIL THEY FIND THE PROPER EXCUSE TO RUN AWAY FROM PEACE...

Khaled al-Hassan

they may always appear to be threatened by invasion. This illusion will always give them the excuse and "justification" to ask for more and more money from either the Jewish community or the American community. You know that Israel receives billions of dollars each year from the American taxpayers. Therefore they would prefer to have a state of no war and no peace, rather than peace, so as to fulfil their final goals of expansionism.

Q: There are those in the United States, some friends of the Palestinian movement and the Palestinian people, who argue that the United States was caught off guard when Chairman Arafat and King Hussein announced the February 11 agreement. That is, the United States did not have a strategy to deal with such a situation because they never thought that Chairman Arafat could accept what was eventually agreed upon in Amman on February 11. Do you agree with that analysis?

A: Well, it is very clear both from the Israelis and from the American public approach to the problem that they always raise slogans, or place definitions that they know very well in advance the Palestinian leadership will reject. This gives them the opportunity to say that they are offering everything, but that the Palestinians always say "no", thus asserting that they don't want peace. Secondly, I think they believed that the Palestinian leadership was similar to so many other leaderships throughout the world, including some Arab leaderships, that speak one language inside and another language outside. The Palestinian leadership speaks only one language, so they never thought that Yasir Arafat would say publicly what he used to say in private conversations. Here is another mistake of American policy. I think that the American policymakers know the Palestinian leadership, and they know that we want peace with the minimum of justice because to ask for full justice in this present-day world of ours is something unrealistic. So, I agree with you that they were caught off guard and that's why we say they are cornered or that the ball is now in their court.

I think that they are facing a very delicate situation trying to figure out what to do. One of the good signs is that the liberal Jews in the United States are beginning to understand the Palestinian leadership more and they differ more with Israeli policy and Washington's policy than with Palestinian policy. In terms of American public opinion, according to the last polls taken, the majority of the American public prefers to see the American adopt a policy of not taking sides. The majority even believes that without the participation of the Palestinians there can be no peace. Unfortunately, these figures are not used by the American government because they contradict their strategy and views, thus they don't want to listen to it. In the United States, studies show that the American people sympathise with the Palestinian and they don't consider the establishment of an independent Palestinian state a threat to the security of Israel. The American people don't like to see their government taking sides, either side. We hope that finally when the public opinion changes from the silent majority to the vocal majority, things will change in the United States.

Q: Why do you think that Murphy refused to meet with Palestinians when he was in Amman, even some Palestinians who are members of the joint delegation and who even Israel accepted?

A: He wants to gain time. It's too early for him to do that, because once he starts it means that he's begun to deal with the process, and he doesn't want to. That's tactic. You know Murphy is a man of tactic, he's not a man of strategy, and he's playing his tactic very well.

Q: You yourself were mentioned as the man to head the Palestinian contingent of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. May I ask you if you've had anything at all from the United States indirectly through Jordan, regarding American approval or disapproval of the entire delegation?

A: Well, they are trying to use a lot of excuses to say yes to this person and no to the other, although it contradicts what I said before, the political terminology of American diplomacy. For instance they couldn't say that I am from the PLO administration because I am not. I am from the PNC, I am not a member of the Executive Committee. I am not even a member of any PLO administrative body. I am from the PNC, which means I am from outside the

Continued on page 1.

Gaza Series III

Gazan Industry Caught in Vice of Unfair Competition

Palestinian workers operate old-time looms in one of Gazan's textile factories. /Said al-Ghazali photo.

by Said al-Ghazali

Despite seeds of growth and maintenance of successful industry in the Gaza Strip, Israeli economic restrictions imposed on local manufacturers serve only to destroy any possibility of progress. Gazan industry has become an industry in crisis, despite a large pool of cheap labourers and substantial capital in the hands of some factory owners.

Industry in Gaza since 1977 has been in a battle for survival against Israeli inflation, decreasing consumer purchase power, and severe limitations on the market. Gazan products are allowed only in the occupied territories, also a battleground of unfair competition between heavily subsidised Israeli industry and unsupported Palestinian industry.

The Gaza Strip, it is important to note, lacks a comprehensive economic plan, or even an organisation to monitor the market or initiate the needed studies on Gaza industry. There are also no industrial unions, no plans to increase awareness among Palestinian consumers who do not encourage local industry by buying local products. This makes any proposals to ease the problem of local industry mere ink on paper. It has created an industry in stagnation which, if it continues to decline, will eventually face certain doom. This at least is the plan of Israeli architects of occupation,

THE AUTHORITIES REFUSE TO EMPOWER THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE... TO HOLD FREE ELECTIONS _ Murtaja

who since 1967 have worked to kill occupied territories' industry by giving it no market even in its own land. The occupied territories would then be transformed into a permanent market for Israeli industry.

Intra-Market Competition

The major problem Gaza industry suffers from is marketing competition between the various Palestinian factory owners themselves, in addition to between Palestinian and Israeli industries. There are no regulations to control the competition which is a policy intended to destroy Palestinian industry. The stronger factory owners in Gaza survive in competition with the weaker ones but are eventually defeated by the even stronger Israeli factories.

In Gaza, there are 14 factories for toilet paper, three for cookies, two for notebooks, five for packaging Gaza oranges for export, and two for soft drinks. There are also a number of cottage industries in various fields. All suffer from the same crisis. Consumers prefer to buy cheaper, subsidised Israeli products or even cheaply-made local products, without heeding quality. As a result several factories have been undercut by newer, cheaper goods. Factories have either been forced to cut employees' wages or close altogether.

Wasim Othman Khazandar, whose father owns and operates an electric tool factory in Gaza City, said that the work done by hand is now in better financial shape than factories which provide jobs to more than 20 workers. These factory owners are no longer able to pay labourers' wages, heavy taxes, or even maintain their production. In spite of productivity power which would fill markets in the occupied territories, in Israel and even abroad, the factories are forced to reduce work hours and production. Wasim cited the examples of the orange packaging factories, the plastics factories, and the electric tool factories. "For instance," he said, " the pottery factory can absorb 500 workers, but it has only five." Rebhi Ajour, owner of a plastics factory, has 12 big machines and an operating capital of JD500,000, but he uses only one machine and produces enough to satisfy the market in the Gaza Strip and some of the West Bank.

The Khazandar electric factory has five old presses to produce transformers, welding machines, and electric fuse boxes. The factory also rebuilds engines and does all kinds of electric repairs. Owner Othman Khazandar, who studied in a vocational school in Jerusalem in 1930 and bought his machines in the 1940s from various European countries, said he is unable to buy modern machines which would make his products much better. "My machines are rundown and I need at least JD200,000 to buy new ones," he said.

Brothers Sa'ad and Freij Tarazi were forced to close their cookie factory last April because of competition with two other factories in Gaza. Sa'ad Tarazi, who worked in Libya for 20 years as a business manager, returned to his country to invest JD60,000 in a cookie factory. At that time he was the only one in the area. Gaza was consuming *every week 2.5 tons of Israeli-produced* Elite cookies. Tarazi opened his factory in 1980 and began selling one ton of inexpensive cookies every week to Nablus. In 1983, Nablus merchants opened similar factories and stopped buying from Tarazi. The West Bank now consumed four tons weekly and Gaza three. Gaza merchants stopped buying from Elite and bought the cheaper wafer from Tarazi. He said that students and poorer families were even able to buy the wafer he produced. However in 1983, the Tayeh and Amal cookie factories were established in the Gaza refugee camps of Jabalya and Nusseirat. Their prices were even lower because they did not pay workers as family members worked instead. Tarazi, however, had to pay JD1000 per month for 24 workers. He was finally unable to continue to sell without profit.

Israeli Competition

Israelis have established a series of regulations aimed at protecting their industry from possible Palestinian competition. For example, it is not permitted for any Palestinian to open a factory unless he first gets a licence from the Israeli Department of Trade and Industry. If a person does get a licence, he will not be eligible for government subsidies or be exempted from paying taxes in the first few years as are Israeli industries.

Mohammed Ahmad Sukkar, who owns a notebook factory, lost JD34,000 this year because of tricky Israeli competition. Sukkar is obliged to buy his raw materials from the Israeli companies. This year an Israeli notebook factory produced a 50-page book (10 pages less than normal) without any trademark. "The Israeli-made notebook is poorly made," Sukkar said, but it hooded the market. To allow for this, Israeli authorities delayed selling the raw paper for three months. Sukkar asked for 1000 tons of papers but was sold only 180. Therefore the cheaper notebook was out on the market three months before his. "Although I am permitted to buy paper from abroad there are still a lot of restrictions placed on that. A ton costs me US 1000 dollars while Israelis pay US 600 dollars," he said.

For many years, Rashad Shawwa, the former mayor of Gaza who is currently head of the Charitable Society for Helping Residents of Gaza Strip (CSHRGS), applied to start an orange press factory. The authorities issued a licence for the press only four months ago. "They are sure that the licence is useless," said Shawwa. "The farmers have uprooted too many citrus trees and it is not commercially profitable to start the press. The factory is not exempted from paying taxes and not eligible for any subsidies," he said. (See last issue for problems in Gaza citrus — ed.)

Youngsters help stack soft-drink bottles in Gaza's HAPI factory./Said al-Ghazali photo.

Low Purchase Power

It is easy to see the decline of the purchase power of Gaza residents. Gazans suffer some of the most severe unemployment in the territories. There are no constructive projects to employ labourers. Gaza suffers more also because it is ineligible to receive the so-called steadfastness funds as does the West Bank from Jordan and other Arab countries. "All these factors are intermingled to make life conditions in the Gaza Strip unbearable," Shawwa said.

The average daily wage of workers in several Gaza factories is only IS5000 (a litle more than US 3 dollars). This has destroyed many of the factories because people can barely afford to eat, much less buy extras. Othman Khazandar said of his electric factory: "I sell only 60 transformers every day and I produce daily 600. The 12 workers in my factory produce 25 welding machines every week, but I sell only one per week." Adnan Sukkar of the notebook factory told *Al Fajr*: "We work only one month in a year to satisfy 60 percent of the market demand in the occupied territories. They need only 2-2.5 million notebooks every year."

The famous carpet industry in Gaza faces the same problem. In spite of the increase in the number of carpet factories from five main ones in Gaza to 30, including some 100 primitive looms, the sale of carpets is very low. Ibrahim Hussein Abu Ajweh, an owner of a carpet shop, said, "Gaza produces at least 100 carpets every day and the markets cannot absorb them. People prefer to use synthetic carpets, and only tourists buy from the West Bank markets." The carpet industry has also been radically changed by the fact that only a very few workshops are still using the wool of goats, camels, and sheep. The rest use cotton.

Infrastructure

One of the problems is that there is no commercial advice available in the Gaza Strip. There is no local institution to evaluate the economy or to direct capital holders wanting to invest. No one bothers to do any market studies. If there is duplication and competition in an industry, there is no institution in Gaza which has the authority to regulate prices and control the situation of anarchy in Gazan industry. Not even statistics on the number of merchants and factory owners are available. There are no statistics on labour, production and the needs of the market. Every factory owner is left to decide on his own the amount to produce and the prices to charge. He is also left alone to solve his taxation problems.

In spite of the fact that all the factory owners who spoke with *Al Fajr* stressed the need to convene such meetings, none of them made an effort to call the other merchants together to study the problems and reach for proper solutions about price control, cooperation and marketing. The Israeli authorities have also refused to licence the establishment of a union for factory owners and merchants. "The absence of the proper infrastructure," Sa'ad Tarazi, of the cookie factory, said, "encourages the destructive competition. Israeli industry stands as a dangerous lion in the eyes of factory owners in Gaza." Wasim Khazandar said the Chamber of Commerce in Gaza should help promote industry by helping factory owners travel abroad to see other more modern industries. The CC must issue pamphlets on industry in cooperation with engineers and economists in Gaza. Khazandar criticised the CC for not publishing studies on the market's power of absorption.

Although Ragheb Murtaja, head of the Chamber of Commerce, admitted truth to the criticism, he explained that conditions made the CC very weak. He said, "the authorities refuse to empower us to do such tasks. We demanded to hold free elections for the CC committee, but they denied us this right." A 17-person committee was elected in 1954 to run the affairs of the CC for two years in accordance with Egyptian law. The Egyptian authorities then allowed the renewal of the same CC committee. Nothing since then has been done. Some members of the CC have since died or become incapable of working. "Only four persons remain relatively active," he said.

The Chamber of Commerce's job is indeed limited. It issues documents proving the agricultural products to be exported originate in Gaza. It signs papers illustrating the financial status of merchants. The CC also issues certificates for residents in Gaza proving their residence to Egyptian authorities. Its 10 employees receive salaries from the fees generated by such activity. But nothing in the way of aiding failing industry is done. Murtaja estimated that there are at least 2000 merchants and factory owners in Gaza. He said, however, that if the four persons who run the affairs of the CC die or retire, there will be no Chamber of Commerce left in Gaza.

The Charitable Forum for Helping Residents of Gaza Strip was established in 1974 by Rashad al-Shawwa to help orange producers export their production to Jordan and other Arab countries. It regulates all business regarding orange, *balah* and *jawafa* export. It is not able to alleviate the problems of industry.

The CFHRGS does offer help to 22 sports clubs in the Gaza Strip. It also sends clothes and sweets to Palestinian prisoners and offers financial help for buying medical equipment for Gaza government hospitals. The CFHRGS also constructed a US 6 million dollars cultural centre including a library, a printing press, an auditorium and a stage.

Industry Promotion

Shawwa told *Al Fajr* he believes the easiest way to promote Gaza industry is to insist on the withdrawal of the Israeli army from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This is a necessary prelude to integrate the Gaza economy with the West and East Banks within a confederated Palestinian state, he said. "Israel wants our economy completely dependent on the Israeli economy. They have created a lot of direct and indirect obstacles to destroy the Gaza economy," said Shawwa. "Thus avenues for promotion of industry are very limited," he said.

Hashem Shawwa, the owner of the Palestine Bank in Gaza which provides loans to Gaza businessmen and agricultural engineers, sees the possibility of promoting Gaza industry if Arab countries and the joint Palestinian-Jordanian committee would channel the steadfastness funds to Gaza industry as they do in the West Bank. Hashem Shawwa told *Al Fajr* the bank has offered loans to only 100 persons totalling US 500,000 dollars. "The Israeli authorities are very hostile to us. They prevented us from opening new branches in the West Bank. We are prevented from dealing in hard currency or submitting stocks on the stock exchange," he said. With the major lending institution in such poor shape, the future of loan recipients — namely industry — do not have much hope.

Adnan Sukkar says the promotion of industry in Gaza could be achieved if *the Arab countries would open their* markets to Gaza products. He said, "My factory is the only one in the Arab world which can provide several Arab countries with notebooks. Why does Saudi Arabia buy what it needs from Italy?" Rashad Shawwa agreed, yet explained that the Arab countries which are officially in a state of war with Israel, say that Israel would try sell its products in the Arab markets under the guise of actually being products of the occupied territories. "I tried very hard to convince King Hussein in 1969 to open his markets for Gaza products. He refused and said I should contact the Arab Boycott Committee in Damascus. I spent six months there but all my efforts were in vain," said Shawwa. "In 1971 I managed to convince King Hussein to issue a military order that bypassed the Arab Boycott Committee regulations and opened Jordan markets for Gaza citrus products," he said. Shawwa said he then tried to help factory owners by contracting Egyptian authorities to market Gaza products in Egypt, but again his efforts were in vain. Shawwa explained that Egypt said they would not only buy Gaza products. "It is a very complicated problem that cannot be solved without radical political changes in the area," Shawwa said.

Hashem Shawwa expressed sheer despair at the possibility of any progress in the situation of industry. "This Gaza Strip is a mere hotel, overcrowded with more than 500,000 people living on 300,000 dunums of sand. I do not see any hope," he said. Sa'ad Tarazi agreed, saying something akin to Darwin's natural selection. "The strongest will survive, the weakest will die. I am sure we are all trapped in the big snare of Israeli regulations," he said. Adnan Sukkar, as well as Wasim Khazandar and Sa'ad Tarazi, told *Al Fajr* they wanted to reach practical solutions to the problem now instead of waiting for Israel to They stressed the need to call on Gaza businessmen to meet and take collective decisions on all issues which affect their industry. However, they are pessimistic. "The eagle eye of occupation will try to defeat this meeting and the merchants do not have the courage to encounter the oppressors," they said.

Decline of Age-Old Industry

Since time immemorial, Gaza has been famous for manufacturing pots. This industry has virtually declined to a standstill as people have stopped using the clay water containers. However, there are still three or four pottery factories in the Strip. Their production is locally absorbed in the markets of the occupied territories. Some village residents who have no electricity use the pots. Others are designed for flowers to be placed on house verandas. The pots are also used for wheat or oil storage. There are a great number of skilled workers in this industry, but most of them work in Jordan.

Besides the pottery industry setbacks as result of newer technology, Gaza is also seeing a decline in the famous industry of fishing. The fishing trade is now in a complete state of decline, not because the world has developed a substitute but because of the occupation's harsh regulations. In Gaza, there are 1000 fishermen who inherited their occupations from their fathers and grandfathers. Nine hundred and fifty of these who know no trade but fishing have been prevented for six months from entering the sea. The Israeli authorities claim that the fishermen were sailing in prohibited areas. The coastguard caught many of the fishermen in the deep sea and fined them IS3-6 million. Their licences were revoked.

THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES ARE VERY HOSTILE TO US. THEY PREVENTED US FROM OPENING NEW BRANCHES IN THE WEST BANK _ Shawwa

The Gaza fishermen who surrounded this *Al Fajr* reporter early one morning told me that Israeli authorities are now pressuring them to be collaborators. Some fishermen have yielded, they said. The fishermen said those who agreed to collaborate have been allowed to sail deep into the sea and fish. A former fisherman with a fish market near the sea told me some fishermen now smuggled gold and drugs to Egypt.

The fishing area of the Gaza coast is 30 kilometres long and two kilometres wide. Before 1974, Gaza fishermen could reach Port Said along the Sinai coast. But fish production is now too little and does not exceed a ton every day during the six-month fishing season. Israeli authorities have permitted only six out

Continued on page 13

'I FELT LIKE WE WERE THE SUBHUMANS.'

Testimony of a Reserve Soldier

Israeli soldiers arrest a local resident in the streets of Ramallah./John Egan photo.

The following report was written by an anonymous reserve soldier. It appeared in Hadashot *on September 23, 1985* – **Translator.**

I returned from my stint in the reserves with a lousy feeling that I can't seem to shake off. It's a feeling of self-repugnance, of revulsion at everything we're doing there — on the other side of the 'green line'.

The minute you go off to do your reserve duty you become a person without feelings. You're under command and you have to act like a soldier, in line with accepted behaviour. You act unconsciously, like a creature operated by remote control from command headquarters in the military government [compound].

I saw how soldiers use force, which is the name of the game, and how their animal instincts overcame their human feelings. There are those who treat the Arabs like subhumans. I felt that we were the subhumans.

Every Arab in Gaza has to carry ID papers and a document that attests to his being a resident of the area. The easiest way to arrest somebody is to confiscate his papers and then bring him to the military government [compound]. Riding in an open jeep, you drive through busy streets full of people. For me, it was an extremely unpleasant situation. When you arrive at the military government [compound] you find dozens of people in the detention room: students, passersby, businessmen. They all sit together in a single group, totally quiet. An armed soldier guards them. They're prohibited to speak. They're forced to just sit and wait.

People are arrested for trifles. Sometimes a person is stopped on the street and it's decided that among his books there is some suspicious material. After hours of anxiety, after being detained and interrogated, he's finally released in the middle of the night after a few words of excuse...

In the middle of the night, we'd enter a quiet area and then stir up a ruckus. All the inhabitants of a given house would be gathered in a single room while we interrogated the men in another room. We'd turn the house upside down in order to find something that usually isn't there. I can't get rid of the image of the hysterical women of the house, standing there with babies in their arms and little kids clinging to their skirts...

One night our patrol came upon some graffiti. Our orders were to get a hold of a passerby and force him to erase it. We stopped 12 people on their way home from some kind of a celebration and ordered them to paint over the slogan. They said they didn't have any paint or brushes but we didn't give them a choice. At 12 midnight they started knocking on doors until one family finally gave them some paint and brushes. Then they painted over the graffiti, done up in their best clothes which quickly became filthy.

The first day we arrived there we were given a demonstration of how to stop a car at a roadblock. For some reason an older man who was quite respectable looking was stopped. Thirty guys stood around watching him get the routine. He was made to get out of his car and present his ID papers. The guy was so embarrassed. When the charade was over, he got into his car, slammed the door and drove off. It all took maybe three minutes. But those three minutes of my life make me feel ashamed.

Israel wins legitimacy through fear, not ideology

"Over the past year, there has been a steady increase of hostile terrorist acts. If we compare the number of terrorist acts carried out this year with last year's figures, a 100 percent increase will become discernible. These acts include: throwing stones at buses and private vehicles, hurling incendiary bombs, and planting explosive devices. All these acts are carried out in total disregard of whether the victims are security personnel or innocent civilians who accidentally happen to be at the site of the attack. Hostile activity is concentrated in the schools, the universities and the lanes of the Casabah... We have no choice but to use an iron fist against the terrorist minority. The majority of the population want to live and work in peace and bring up and educate their children without fear. But we have no choice save to use an iron fist. Of course, citizens will suffer as a result, but they must learn that if they don't oppose the terrorist minority, they too will be hurt. We have therefore decided to deploy paratroopers in the area in place of the police and the borderguards. That's the order. We'll deploy paratroopers in the area to maintain order and they'll do so."

– Robert Lacoste, High Commissioner of French Algeria
January 17, 1957 (quoted in *Al Hamishmar*, September 24, 1985).

***

History does not repeat itself, but colonial officials and military leaders do. Although the Algerian war proved the ineffectuality of military might against a popular resistance movement, less than a decade after its conclusion the United States repeated all of France's blunders, albeit on a larger scale, in South-East Asia.

The idea that with a sufficient amount of coercion oppressed peoples can be brought around to accepting foreign domination is one of the principal delusions of the warfare state the world over. It dictates Soviet policy in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and it guides US policy throughout the Third World. Hence, from a global perspective, the case of Israel is hardly unique.

Following the failure of Messrs Begin, Sharon and Eitan's Lebanese crusade, Israel's "great power" status was severely undermined. Concomitantly, the Israeli ruling class lost its consensus, and though it still dominates Israeli society, it no longer leads it.

As traditional ideologies break down, the government has come to rely more and more on the anxiety of the public rather than any confluence of opinion to maintain its legitimacy. And perhaps no issue has served this purpose better than terrorism.

It is thus not all that surprising that the issue of terrorism has come to dominate public debate on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Indeed, the "threat of Palestinian terrorism" so often mentioned by right-wing politicians has blown the issue out of proportion to the point that one could think the PLO has a modern airforce at its command.

The truth is that not only is the scope and volume of Palestinian violence minimal as compared to that of the Israeli army, it is also minimal when compared to inter-Israeli violence.

HaAretz military correspondent Ze'ev Schiff found that the annual number of Israeli traffic casualties exceeds the total number of Israeli civilians killed in Palestinian attacks over the past 20 years.

Writing in the September 27 issue of *HaAretz*, Schiff also quotes a study carried out by the US-based Rand Institute which puts the number of civilian casualties from Palestinian attacks at 0.54 percent of the overall number of Israelis killed between 1967 and 1978 in traffic accidents, work mishaps, violent crime, terrorist attacks, etc.

To Advertisers

AL FAJR English weekly newspaper was established in 1980 as a supplement of the Arabic daily AL FAJR.

The English weekly AL FAJR has been growing ever since. Today AL FAJR reaches nearly 10,000 readers, many of them libraries and institutions who display the paper to a much larger constituency. Immediately after its publication in Jerusalem Thursday nights proofs of the paper are transferred to New York by plane. In New York the paper is reprinted and distributed to subscribers within a very short period of time.

The breakdown of AL FAJR readers by country is as follows:

2,000 readers in Jerusalem and Israel (mostly sales from newsstands and subscriptions).
2,000 subscribers in Europe, Asia and Japan.
6,000 subscribers in the United States.

The vast majority of AL FAJR readers are intellectuals, politicians and generally people strongly interested in the situation in the Middle East. A large number of these readers make frequent visits to the area and therefore would be target people for ads concerning travel arrangements, airplane tickets, hotels and restaurants in the area. A number of the European subscribers are members of solidarity groups and make frequent visits to the area on student passes. Advertising for low price housing in Jerusalem and the area would bring results.

A short advertising campaign by Bir Zeit University for a summer course has been successful, according to university officials. University officials were able to register 33 students to the summer course this year. Last year only 3 registered for the course.

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Al Fajr Profile

Ishaq Husseini: A Palestinian Rationalist

by Maher Abukhater

At age 82, Professor Ishaq Mousa Husseini is still as impressive, eloquent and witty as any young professor can be. Old age does not seem to bother him much, except when it comes to some strenuous activity. He still contributes annually to one of the Arab world's most prestigious institutions — the Arab Linguistic Forum in Cairo, Egypt. Husseini was nominated to the Cairo Forum in 1961 to a seat vacated by the late Palestinian author, Khalil Sakakini. He occupied the seat designated for a Palestinian national at the nomination of the Forum's president. His nomination was approved by the late Egyptian President Jamal Abd al-Nasser.

Author of many books on Arabic literature, language and thought, Husseini is currently president of the College of Arts for Women, a branch of the Jerusalem University. As president of this college, Husseini is working to fulfil one of the many dreams proposed throughout his writings — the advancement of women's rights through education. "We in the college try to develop the curriculum that deals with education. We try to develop rational thinking among the girls by teaching them religious and moral principles," he said.

"The situation of women is much better now than it was in the past. The women are educated and work in medical institutions, pharmacies and teaching among many other," Husseini said. "Of course there are some black marks that need work, especially in the villages. But we now have pioneering women, a phenomenon that did not exist 40 or 50 years ago."

The issue of women's rights occupies a significant part of Husseini's writings, particularly seen in his famous novel "Memoirs of a Chicken," written in 1943. In this work, Husseini discusses through the character of the chicken some of the social problems present in Palestinian society at the time. The rooster is the dominant force in the book. He takes a number of hens as wives. One of the hens is more intelligent than the others, always looking to evaluate events in terms of their moral value. In the short story, the hen is narrating her memoirs, a reflection of Husseini. She is the more rational one of all the characters.

Husseini also considers himself a rationalist. "I am a writer, an educator and a citizen committed to the rational line of thinking in dealing with issues facing the society," Husseini said. "I have been influenced by some of my teachers like Taha Hussein, Mustafa Abd al-Razaq, Ahmad Amin, Mansour Fahmi, Mahmoud Azmi [all famous literary figures in the Arab world — ed.] and Hamilton A.R. Gibb." All of these authors belong to the rational school, according to Husseini, whose belief rests in the theory that reason and experience should be used to solve problems rather than the non-rational sense perceptions. This requires students to thoroughly consider the issue and decide what is best before making a rational judgment. For this reason, a "rational thinker

Ishaq Husseini

cannot belong to some political party or follow a specific political line because he is always looking for what is best not what pleases a group of people," explained Husseini.

"I came into direct and frequent contact with the rational school during my years of study in Cairo," the aged professor said. "I used to attend every lecture of the rationalists and join them in their social meetings whenever they had one."

Husseini entered the American University in Cairo in 1923. He was still 19 years old at the time. He received his elementary and high school education in his birthplace — Jerusalem. In 1926 he received a degree in Journalism, after which he returned to Jerusalem as a teacher at Rashidiya school. But soon he returned to Egypt to study Arabic and semitic languages at Cairo University.

At the time, Cairo was closed to any students not Egyptian. But Husseini wanted to enter the university so badly that he studied long hours and fought hard to prove himself worthy. He then graduated from Cairo University with high honours in 1930.

After leaving Cairo, Husseini travelled to Britain where he studied linguistics and literature at London University. In London, Husseini befriended the well-known orientalist H.A.R. Gibb. Gibb was Husseini's adviser throughout his graduate work on the Arab philosopher and literary figure Ibn Quteibeh.

Responding to criticism by Arab researchers that Gibb's writings were intended to consolidate British imperialism in the East, he did not believe his adviser was vindictive in his writings. "Gibb was one of the West's most objective scientists," Husseini said. "I know that for sure because I am one of the people most familiar with his works and beliefs." Husseini was quick to defend Gibb, saying that "we should not expect Gibb to have been favourable to the Arabs and Islam when he was a British scholar." He added, that "we could not have asked Gibb to be Muslim or Arab and abandon his British nationality. We should judge his work within these restrictions."

Gibb, Husseini said, "admired Islam but did not like backward Muslims... I never saw any criticism by him of Prophet Mohammed or Islam, but he criticised Muslims everywhere for factual things no one could deny."

For Husseini, Gibb was a rationalist. This made his writings acceptable for their attempt to look for the good and the best way to improve conditions. Husseini believes this made Gibb an objective writer regardless of what he actually wrote or the way his writing helped British colonialists build their empire in the East at the expense of the the indigenous population. Modern Arab and Muslim researchers have considered orientalist writing from the 19th century a tool to help European colonialist powers at the time dominate the world. They have criticised their writing as subjective and unfactual.

As a rationalist, Husseini has been able to write on varied subjects, ranging from pure linguistics to philosophy. This has made it difficult to pinpoint him as a writer of one genre or another. His writings include research in pedagogy, the Arabic language, Arabic literature, children's literature, Arab thought, Islam, and a variety of fictional short stories. He has also published several research articles in journals in Egypt.

"I have always changed my writing according to the position I was in at the time," said Husseini. "The rationalist approach is what determines what I direct my attention to." Husseini admitted that "many researchers found it strange that I wrote on different topics, but the reason for this was the rationalist thinking present in all my writings."

Regarding his views on possible change in the Arab world since the 1930s when he first began to write, Husseini said there has been no significant change. "After 50 years, we have not progressed at all," he said. "We have not yet witnessed a real progression because the Arab world has been busy with politics, ridding the nation of the remains of colonialism and a power struggle."

"In Egypt we have scientists in medicine and engineering but these are a minority if we consider them in relation to the total population. In the rest of the Arab countries, the majority of the populations are underdeveloped," according to Husseini. As for the Palestinians, "if we measure our development with the West, then we are behind; but, in comparison to the Arab world, we are relatively advanced," the professor said. However, Husseini believes the Palestinians, especially those in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza, have a long way to go in order to develop as a society. He said that "we have to stop and evaluate very closely our situation in a rational way: are we at a level in the educational field, despite the presence of the universities, compatible to the developed countries? Do we have research centres equal to other countries? Are our scientists as good as others?" To these questions Husseini answers in the negative.

He blamed the underdeveloped conditions in the West Bank on the absence of a national government. Husseini gave the example that in all the Arab countries the government backs literary movements like the Linguistic Forum. But in the West Bank there is no government to support such an effort meaning writers will not find a place to direct them in the best way to produce and participate in literary activities. Husseini hopes that writers here will give more attention in future to their work and consolidate efforts to develop a literary society.

Husseini has travelled to many countries where he lectured on Arabic literature. After the 1948 war in Palestine in which a Jewish state was created on Palestinian territory, Husseini moved to Beirut where he taught at the American University until 1954. In 1955 he returned to Egypt to head the Arab Higher Studies Institute and teach at the American University in Cairo. He stayed there until 1973 when he returned to his hometown of Jerusalem for retirement. He, however, continued to write for Egyptian scholarly journals at the rate of one a year. He also travels whenever his health permits it.

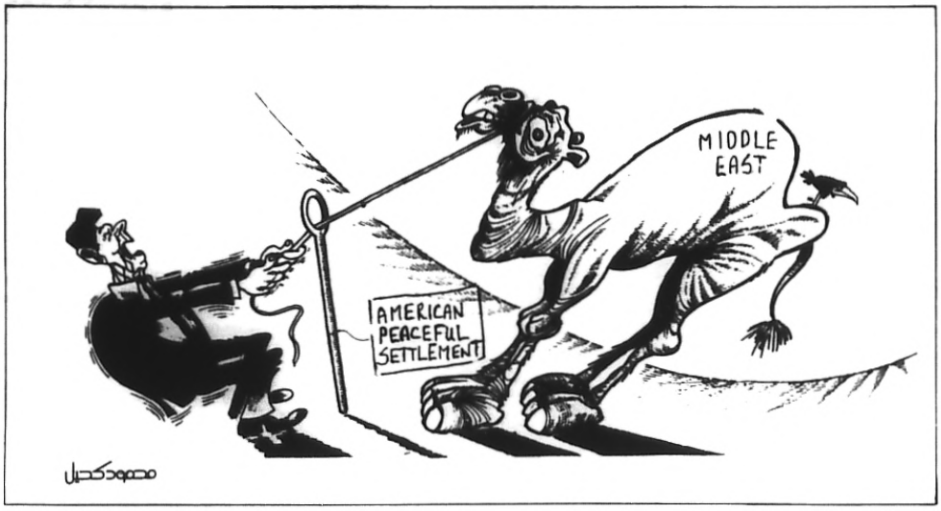
In appreciation for his contributions, the Arab Linguistic Forum in Cairo had a special commemorative ceremony on his 80th birthday. Husseini's students and colleagues in the occupied territories and outside published a special book commemorating his works and contributions.

Husseini was recently nominated to the Arab Linguistic Forum in Amman, Jordan, in addition to being a member of the one in Egypt. He is also a member of the Islamic Research Institution in Alexandria, Egypt, and the Iraqi Scientific Institution. On March 15, 1983, Husseini was awarded the Science and Art medal from the Egyptian government.

Palestinian writer Ali Khalili described Husseini as saying that "his presence here is a major pillar of our present culture." ■

Selected List of Husseini's Works

1. Ibn Quteibeh: His Life and Works. (Doctorate dissertation, 1934).
2. My Thoughts on Teaching Arabic Language (Jerusalem, 1937).
3. Orientalist in England (Jerusalem, 1940).
4. Memoirs of a Chicken (Cairo, 1943).
5. The Return of the Ship (Jerusalem, 1945).
6. Methods In Teaching Arabic Language (Jerusalem, 1947).
7. Are Writers Human Beings? (Beirut, 1950).
8. Islam in the Eyes of the West (In English, Beirut 1953).
9. Muslim Brethren (Beirut, 1953).
10. Predicament of Arab Thought (Beirut, 1945).
11. Research into the Muslim Past and Present (Cairo, 1966).
12. Literature and Arab Nationalism (Cairo, 1967).
13. Jerusalem — An Arab City (Cairo, 1967).
14. Historical Buildings in Muslim Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 1977).
15. Contemporary Arab Problems (Jerusalem, 1978).



King Hussein's UN speech, attacks on Tripoli, and the Israeli bombing of the PLO's headquarters in Tunisia were the main topics covered by the local press this week.

Al Quds daily, with the largest circulation in Jerusalem, gave King Hussein's speech the most prominent coverage. *Al Fajr* and *Al Sha'ab* dailies covered the speech but refrained from offering analysis.

All Palestinian papers focused on the situation in Tripoli. *Al Mithaq* daily was the only paper which supported the attack on the city in the hope that such action would rid the city of its problems.

The attack by Israeli planes on PLO headquarters in Tunis was strongly condemned by all local papers.

Geneva Summit

International interest in the summit meeting between the leaders of the two superpowers is growing daily. Arab interest in it is part of the international one. There are warnings against overestimating the importance of such a summit for us, because the first item on the agenda is arms-control. Soviet officials told Abu Iyad during his last visit to Moscow that they would raise the Palestinian issue in the coming summit in Geneva. A Soviet delegation is to visit Tunis also to have talks with the Palestinian leadership. This is why the PLO has been working for months to formulate a unified Arab stand that would enhance the Soviet position. The Soviets cannot defend a cause betrayed by its own people. So, it is extremely important to support the PLO and its role.

AL SHA'AB
September 26

A New American Balloon

The angry Israeli reactions ***to Thatcher's visit to some Arab countries, the selling of arms to*** Jordan and Saudi Arabia and the British decision to receive a joint delegation, are no more than diplomatic formalities. For, providing the two Arab countries with British arms does not in any case pose a threat to Israel. On the other hand, Britain's decision to receive the joint delegation falls within the context of American tactics which we believe are undertaken with prior Israeli knowledge. Therefore, the talk about a change in the British position is unjustifiable. But what is new in Thatcher's positions? The truth is that Thatcher's visit is complementary to the American shuttle trips in the region by Murphy. Thatcher's visit is indeed an American mission in different form. It gave the Palestinian Right a new balloon that excited them as if they were on the threshold of a strategic victory. The US and Britain are playing complementary roles in the area to achieve agreed upon goals.

AL MITHAQ
September 26

Palestinian Workers in Arab Countries

Palestinians working in Arab countries encounter problems that are different from those encountered by other Arab workers, concerning their 'identity' documents, with the exception of those who have Jordanian passports. Jordanian passports help facilitate the movement of their bearers especially those leaving the West Bank for work in Arab countries. But they face the problem of limited travel permits. They have to come back to renew these permits. And sometimes they are made to stay longer than their vacations, and so, they lose their jobs. This problem is repeated every year during the summer months. Therefore the tour by a joint Palestinian-Arab League delegation of five Arab countries regarding the treatment of Palestinians comes at the right time. Unemployment among our workers outside adversely affects the steadfastness in the occupied territories. The pressures practised by certain Arab countries on the Palestinian workers are unjustifiable. All the Palestinians are asking for is equality with other Arab workers.

AL FAJR
September 27

The Umbrella of International Conference

King Hussein called for conducting peace negotiations under the umbrella of an international conference to be attended by all concerned parties. And since the Jordanian monarch believes that the Arab-Israeli conflict is a comprehensive deal and that the Palestinian cause is its core, he insists on dealing with the issue which requires Israel's recognition of the Palestinian people's right to take part in the peace negotiations through the PLO. Israel's rejection of the international conference reflects its desire to have separate settlements. This is something which King Hussein totally rejects. Hussein warned in his speech before the UN that the hopes for peace would fade away if Israel insists on placing obstacles. The international community should take this warning very seriously The US has to openly recognise the importance of the Palestinian role and should start dialogue with the joint delegation. The chance created by Jordan and the PLO is an historic one. To miss it is to lose hope of any peaceful settlement.

AL QUDS
September 28

What is the Explanation ?

One cannot but feel disgusted by the Syrian propaganda campaign regarding Tripoli's happenings. The Syrian media is once more claiming that the cause of all this is as usual: Yasir Arafat. One feels sorry when a progressive party has dwindled to the lowest level of sectarianism. Such parties were an integral part of the Lebanese Nationalist movement. But now they accepted the Syrian-assigned role to them. These are the parties whose leaders said nothing when the Syrians received Eli Hbeiqa. The massacre in Tripoli is part of the Syrian plan to impose a sectarian solution on Lebanon. **How could the progressives** explain their participation in the crime? There is no time for questions, Tripoli is burning... and the culprits are known.

AL SHA'AB
September 30

The Tripoli War

The attack by the Lebanese National Forces on the positions of at-Tawhid al-Islami movement in Tripoli was expected and inevitable, because the clashes and fighting went on between the militias of this movement, which is hostile to the nationalist forces, and the militias of the Arab Democratic Party. At-Tawhid also rejected a suggestion to withdraw weapons from the city as a first step toward restoring quietness to the city. It is unacceptable to leave the city torn by war and destruction. The nationalist and progressive forces cannot accept such a situation. They believe that the interest of the city and Lebanon is above the interest of persons and all those who should channel their energies to the service of their country. Getting the capital of the north out of the circle of clashes and fighting has become an urgent necessity. The nationalist forces are to shoulder the responsibility of restoring peace and order to the city. This is the way to defeat the imperialist schemes. Out of this starting point comes the all-out attack on the city to control the security situation in it.

AL MITHAQ
September 30

The Israeli Message

The Israeli air raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis carries a clear, unequivocal message to all the Arabs and the world countries. The gist of the message is that Israel's aims have not changed: to liquidate the Palestinian people and the PLO. The means did not change also: military might and state terror. And that Israel is still as it has ever been ... showing complete disregard of the international law or the world public opinion. It is adamant in its challenge of the Arabs and humiliating them.

The Israeli message is also clear to those who may have any illusion about the possibility of moving toward a peaceful settlement in the area. This is what Abu Ammar referred to when he said that the peace efforts reached an impasse. The cause, of course, is the American and Israeli attitudes. The Israeli air raid should drive us anew to look for a unified Arab stand. It gives the Egyptian regime a golden opportunity to free itself from Camp David. This typical Israeli response will be responsible for any further deterioration in the region and driving it to the brink of new tension.

AL SHA'AB
October 2

Jerusalem Electric Company Faces Debt Crisis

by Maher Abukhater

A crisis is in the offing at the Arab-owned Jerusalem Electric Company (JEC), or so it appears.

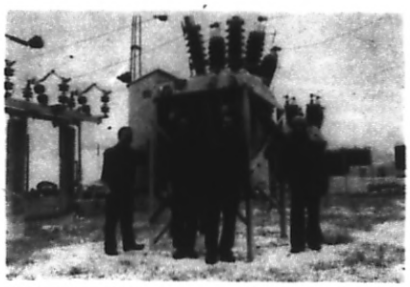
Last week, four of the company's 16-member board of directors suspended their membership in the board in protest of the deteriorating financial situation at JEC. The company must come up with two million Jordanian dinars (US 5 million dollars) in a few days time to pay a debt to the Israeli Regional Electric Company (REC). JEC buys 90 percent of its electric power from its Israeli counterpart.

The four members — Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, Beit Sahour Mayor Hanna Atrash, Beit Jala Mayor Farah A'araj and Jericho Mayor Jamil Sabri Khalaf — met September 21 and decided to suspend their membership. Their action, according to an *Al Fajr* Arabic interview with Atrash September 26, was taken because the four "found that the present condition of the company cannot continue in which we lose JD10,000 (US 25,000 dollars) every day." Atrash suggested in the interview that unless the company comes up with a comprehensive plan of reform, "then it is better to dissolve it."

According to Abed Abu Diab, an adviser to the company president and head of its workers union, dissolving the company would mean turning it over to the Israelis. The only difference, he explained, is that "in dissolving the company, we are giving the Israelis the right to take it over without a fight."

The JEC crisis came as a result of the heavy debt the company found itself under. The JEC was informed by the Israeli REC that a debt of more than IS9 billion would have to be paid by the end of September. Otherwise, the Israeli company said it intended to go to court to retrieve the money in any way possible.

JEC President, Anwar Nusseibeh, travelled to Jordan where he was able to get money enough to cover less than half the debt. The company had plans to send another delegation of board members to Jordan after the remaining funds. The delegation was to consist of Freij, Atrash, and Khalaf, along with the JEC general manager, head accountant and a representative of the workers union. But following the sudden suspension of board membership by the three West Bank mayors, Nusseibeh decided to travel once again in their place.



JEC employees inspect a company grid in Jenin. Some have called for the dismissal of 200 of the 500 workers.

Abu Diab blamed the debt on the high cost of fuel and the low price of current sold to households and businesses. The price of current is regulated by the Israeli government. Israel subsidises its regional company for losses incurred from selling current while the JEC must rely on assistance coming from Jordan to cover its losses. According to Abu Diab, the company needs JD200,000 a month in subsidy if it is to continue functioning.

The company currently has three options available. JEC can either get enough money from Jordan to pay off the entire debt, it can dissolve itself of all its holdings in which case all JEC property will be taken over by the Israeli government and the debt paid, or it can allow itself to be taken over by the Israeli government claiming that the company is not capable of functioning on its own.

A fourth solution was recently proposed. Israeli Energy Minister Moshe Shahal in a meeting with Nusseibeh last month suggested that a joint Arab-Israeli company be established to replace the JEC. The Arab section of the company would supply power to the Arab cities. This proposal however may meet opposition from Jordan since an Arab-Israeli company will also mean further Israeli control over East Jerusalem. Israel has been trying for many years to take control of the Arab company, as a way of flexing its muscle in the Palestinian half of the city.

The financial crisis within the JEC has prompted officials in Jordan to set up a special committee to look into the problem. Nusseibeh has rejected the committee, considering its formation a loss of confidence in his leadership.

On September 9 during a meeting of the JEC board attended by all its members, Nusseibeh resigned in protest against the formation of the inquiry team. His resignation was refused by all board members. As a result, the Jordanian committee's work was suspended.

One final proposal suggested to save the company was to supply it with power directly from Jordan — to link the JEC to the Jordanian grid.

World

Continued from page 1

Palestinian people and the PLO." The editorial added that Israel's military power and 'state terrorism' are its means to reach its goal.

Al Quds wrote that "Bombing the PLO headquarters in Tunisia is aimed at bringing the peaceful moves based on the Palestinian-Jordanian agreement to the point of no return. It also aims at excluding the PLO from any negotiations."

Al Fajr wrote that "While the Arabs are effectively advancing the peace process, Israel is doing its best to abort these moves through its practices against the Palestinians inside and outside" the occupied territories. *Al Mithaq* said the air raid "falls within the context of flagrant Israeli aggression on the Arab people in general and the Palestinians in particular."

In addition to the written denunciation of the raid, Palestinians in the occupied territories expressed anger through demonstrations. Anti-Israeli demonstrations were reported at Askar and al-Ama'ri refugee camps. Reports said the demonstators blocked the main road with rocks until an Israeli army unit came to remove them. Askar camp near Nablus was placed under tight military supervision until late October 2. The army also blocked the main entrance to the camp.

In the Gaza Strip, anti-Israel demonstrations were reported at Jabalya refugee camp. An Israeli military spokesperson said several stone-throwing incidents against Israeli targets were reported throughout the West Bank. However no injuries or arrests were reported.

In Israel, only one dissenting voice was heard in the inner cabinet meeting in which the raid was approved. Dissent came from Minister-Without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman. According to Israeli reports, Weizman was worried that the raid might damage the peace process and bring retribution against Israel. The rest of the 10-person inner cabinet made up of representatives of the Labour and Likud parties voted in favour of the raid.

In Israel, leading military correspondent Hirsch Goodman wrote in *The Jerusalem Post* on two consecutive days that it is still unclear whether Arafat or the special Force 17 were involved in the killing of the three Israelis in Larnaca.

Denunciation of the raid in Israel came from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), the Progressive List for Peace (PLP), Mapam, and the Citizens' Rights Movement. Right-wing parties like the Likud and Tehiya expressed strong support for the raid and went as far as praising it. Some urged the government to carry out similar attacks on PLO offices in the Jordanian capital of Amman.

The anti-Zionist Orthodox Jewish group Neturei Karta cabled Arafat expressing its "sincere sympathies and condolences on the tragic loss of many comrades." The cable went on to say that "We are impatiently awaiting peace to be resolved in the Middle East through the total collapse of the Zionist entity which falsely claims the name of 'Israel.'"

In Tunis, hundreds of demonstrators gathered at the American Cultural Centre in protest of US support for the raid and possible involvement. Tunisian police units intervened to disperse the demonstrators who were chanting anti-US and anti-Reagan slogans. The demonstrators later gathered at the PLO office in the Tunisian capital to express support for it.

PLO Chairman Arafat, interviewed by foreign reporters, was quoted as blaming the US for the raid. Arafat said the raid would not have been possible if it was not for American support for Israel. Arafat accused the US of coordination and complicity in the air strike. "Without US-backing, Israel couldn't have hit a target 2400 kilometres away," he told Italian TV. Arafat also said that he had information that the American Sixth Fleet aided the Israeli airforce. Arafat vowed to take action in retaliation against the bombing of the PLO offices.

Economic Community Council foreign ministers said in a joint statement that the raid "violates the sovereignty of a friendly, peaceful and moderate country and represents a further stage in the continuing violence and counter-violence in the Middle East." In England, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe condemned the raid "which will have the effect of making the search for peace more difficult."

Gaza Industry

Continued from page 8&9

of 100 boats to fish. Hassan Shaker Shweikh, the main fish merchant in Gaza, said that he used to sell 20 tons to Jordan, another 20 to the West Bank and a third 20 in Gaza every week between 1967 and 1970. Shweikh now buys fish from different countries to fill the empty fish market. Some fishermen do not know what to do. Ibrahim Habeil, owner of two boats, said "I really cannot find an occupation to feed my 31-person extended family."

Habeil is not alone. The Gaza industry in its present condition cannot absorb more than 20 percent of the current labour force. (See Gaza series next week for a look at Gaza labourers — ed.) Therefore it cannot be a distinct part of the Gaza economy unless it absorbs more than 50 percent of the labour force and makes concrete improvements in trade and agriculture. "It is really a disfigured industry," said Fawaz Abu Setteh, who has a doctorate in international economic law from East Germany. Abu Setteh teaches economics at the Islamic University in Gaza. Abu Setteh made the following comments on Gazan industry: "First, I have to stress that all the difficulties Gaza industry faces are results of Israeli economic and political plans. The citrus packaging industry is not qualified to develop the Gaza economy alone. The Gaza income between 1967 and 1971 was dependent on the salaries of its sons and daughters who worked in the Arab emirates, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, who sent back their money to their relatives to help them survive or to start small projects. The work opportunities for graduates from Gaza have decreased since 1971. The general Israeli economic crisis which started in 1977 has direct repercussions and manifestations on the occupied territories since it is the weakest point in the Israeli economy. Israel also added to the occupied territories' problem by dismissing the Palestinian labour."

Nevertheless, Abu Setteh like others has given some thought to possible solutions. "If we say that investing Arab capital in the industry is the solution, we would find in practice that it is not because of the political situation under Israeli control," he said. "Israel has never permitted and will never permit a strong Arab industry which would compete with the Israeli industries. The only possible power to encounter the occupation's regulations is the consumer who must encourage the local industries by buying his clothes, food, cigarettes, medicine and drinks from Arab institutions. The factory owners must be much more concerned about the quality of their production. The idea of sponsoring bazaars with national industries' products must be encouraged in Gaza like it is in the West Bank." Abu Setteh believes the solution may lie with the people themselves. "The consumer and the factory owner must realise that Israel will strike at them both. Our economy in Gaza was always in a crisis. We cannot help but try to make it less problematic, less harmful. The consumers and the factory owners in general must sacrifice a bit on price in order to support each other and thus Gaza industry." ■

September 25, 1985

DR THABET UNDER TOWN-ARREST

Israeli military authorities imposed a town-arrest on Dr Thabet Ahmad Thabet, head of the Dentists Union in the West Bank. According to the 6-month order, Dr Thabet, a resident of Tulkarm, is not allowed to leave the boundaries of the town and must report once every 2 weeks at the police station.

4 JENIN SHOPS SHUT

Israeli military authorities ordered the closure of 4 shops opposite Bank Leumi in Jenin on the pretext that local youths hurled stones at Israeli vehicles passing in the area.

September 26, 1985

ARMED CELL UNCOVERED IN BETHLEHEM

Israeli military authorities have uncovered an armed Palestinian cell in the Bethlehem area, a military spokesperson announced. He said the members of the cell belonged to the Fatah faction.

They are suspected of carrying out a number of anti-Israeli attacks, including the planting of two bombs in West Jerusalem last month. A number of Israelis were reportedly injured in the blasts.

7 NABLUS SHOPS CLOSED

Israeli military authorities ordered the closure of 7 shops in Nablus' main street for 3 days on the pretext that local youths hurled stones at Israeli vehicles in the area. In Ein Beit al-Ma' refugee camp outside Nablus, troops sealed off the entrances and scoured the area following stone-throwing attacks on Israeli vehicles.

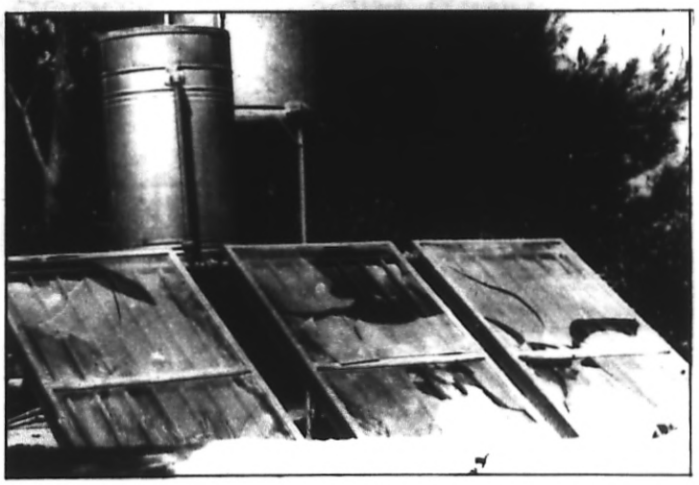
September 27, 1985

BALATA UNDER CURFEW

Israeli troops imposed a curfew on Balata refugee camp near Nablus on Thursday night following a petrol bomb attack on an Israeli vehicle. Soldiers conducted house-to-house searches in the camp and detained several youths for questioning. The refugee camp of Ain Beit el-Ma' was still under curfew for the second straight day following stone-throwing attacks on Israeli vehicles.

GAZA LAWYERS STRIKE

Lawyers in the Gaza Strip announced a two-day strike to protest Israeli soldiers' harassment of Arab residents in the Gaza Strip, particularly the shooting of two children, one fatally.



Solar heating unit in Halhoul destroyed by settlers./GK photo.

September 29, 1985

NEW SETTLEMENT IN NABLUS

The Gush Emunim settlement movement announced that it will lay the cornerstone for a new settlement in the heart of the city of Nablus. The announcement said the new settlement will be called 'Ili'.

TOWN-ARREST RENEWED

For the seventh successive time, Israeli military authorities extended for another 6 months a town-arrest order imposed on Omar Said, a university student from the Galilee village of Kfur Kanna. According to the order, Said should not leave the village during the day and his home during the night. He also must report daily to the police station in Nazareth.

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Work Camp

Continued from page 16

Another woman observed that the bus trips were a central and integral part of the work camp experience, not just a means of getting from place to place. This was because of the long talks with other campers, the collective run-ins with the Israeli army, and the wide range of sights they viewed from the windows.

I was surprised to find that the organisers made little effort to point out landmarks on the way — even when we reached Gaza — or to give any kind of political talks. Instead they kept a low profile, singing songs and addressing the group only when necessary to give instructions about work assignments. Perhaps they thought the facts on the ground spoke for themselves and didn't need any elaboration, although some of the campers indicated that they would like a little more explanation of what was happening.

Once in Gaza, the group split into three teams and went directly to work without seeing anything of Gaza City. The first team went to Deir al-Balah refugee camp, which is located on a cliff overlooking the Mediterranean. The second two went to Abbasan, a small village of 3000 residents. They worked for two hours and then were given sumptuous lunches by the grateful Gazans.

Unusual Insights

I went with the third group, which was assigned to lay down a cement floor in a partly constructed house. The local branch of the Women's Work Committee had gotten permission of the owner — who was apparently in Libya — to use the house as a day-care centre. Young women from the committee told me that they were very appreciative of the workers' voluntary efforts. This summer, they said, all three camp sessions had been to Gaza and some eight or nine projects had been completed. They seemed excited by the fact that these young people had come from overseas to help out in the tiny town of Abbasan, which looked a bit like the end of the world.

The workers began to mix the cement and prepared to lay down the floor.

Suddenly an elderly man (the campers later referred to him as "this *sheikh* guy") dressed in a *gallabiyeh* and red *kaffiyeh* appeared on the scene and began shouting at the villagers who had gathered outside to watch that this was his brother's house and he absolutely refused to allow the work to continue. The women from the Women's Work Committee pleaded with him to stop his harangue, but he became even more vehement.

The reasons for his outburst were unclear (local residents offered wide-ranging interpretations), although it did seem that permission to use the house had in fact been granted by the owner, and that this man's protest was rooted in some rather eccentric logic.

Whatever the reasons for the resistance, the BZU delegate in charge of the task told his group to leave and return to the bus. As they did so, crowds emerged out of nowhere to argue with the adament objector and to try and resolve the dispute, which by that time had become very heated. Village elders got onto the bus and pleaded with the BZU leader (who was furious) to let the group take tea with them so the village could make up for the insult. Still the campers themselves were left in the dark about this bizarre affair.

Eventually the bus drove a few blocks to the town council (*majlis*) hall where the BZU group was seated on cushions on the floor and crowds of village elders and youths sat in attendance. The BZU leader briefly explained to the baffled campers what was going on. Then an official apology was offered and, after the ritual of tea, the group waited while lunch was prepared.

I was able to translate most of what was happening to those campers near me. The others, however, sat around not only confused by the Arabic, which they did not speak, but by the process of apology and reconciliation so vital to Palestinian society, yet so new to them. In fact, not only was this important part of Palestinian society not explained to them, but the BZU organiser seemed embarrassed by the whole affair and attempted instead to dismiss it.

A group of eager Abbasan children crowded around the visitors in the interim and bombarded them with questions. "What do you think of Reagan? What do you think of the PLO?"

After lunch, when the three work teams reunited, campers exchanged stories and it turned out that the other two groups had had equally unusual experiences that gave them special insights into Palestinian society. The only girl in the first team, an American, related how the women in the camp had not let her engage in the hard work of building a stone wall. They insisted she leave that to the men and instead took her on a tour of their homes, showed her pictures, and tried their best to talk with her.

Women in the second team related similar stories. The team was assigned to pick up refuse in a small courtyard. The women in the group were startled when a religious Muslim *sheikh* appeared and summarily ordered them to leave the courtyard and work separately from their male colleagues. According to them, the local Abbasan contacts gave them much more tiring tasks than the men, yet hastened to bring the men cold drinks before serving the women.

Many campers were particularly struck by the poor conditions in Gaza, particularly in the camps. "The camps in the West Bank were nothing compared to this," said one man. "They [Gaza camps] didn't even have any streets — only sand, and there were people piled on top of each other in the same room."

To top off the day's hard labour, the group was taken for a sunset swim at a beach in Asqalan. On the way back to Bir Zeit the organisers sat at the front of the bus and sang wedding songs for one of their colleagues who was getting married in the next few days, and the campers listened and held lively conversations about their Gaza experiences.

Many participants said that the work camp had had a big impact on the way they viewed the Arab-Israeli conflict. "I guess the thing that strikes me most is the intractability and complexity of the conflict, particularly the Palestinian problem," said one. "I learned that Israel is not the paragon of goodness we learned it was in religious class," commented another.

Three girls had spent several months on an Israeli kibbutz. They came to the work camp by chance, after meeting someone in Cairo who had just come from the camp and encouraged them to join. They agreed that the week in Bir Zeit had given their stay in the country an entirely different dimension. "On the kibbutz, I never even knew Palestinians existed. But here they are, and their situation is miserable. I'm going back with a lot of questions. I feel like this experience has knocked me over and turned my head completely around," said one.

"I learned more in three days at this work camp than I did in three months on the kibbutz," said another.

2 ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTIONS APPEALED

Two Palestipians from the Gaza Strip appealed to the Israeli Military Objections Committee against their administrative detention for 6 months. The two are: Mahmoud Abu Madkour and Tawfik Abu Khosa. They were jailed for 6 months without trial earlier this month under administrative detention orders on the pretext that they were 'security risks'.

September 30, 1985

ISRAELI RESTAURANT FIREBOMBED

Two petrol bombs were thrown at an Israeli restaurant in Arman Hanatsiv in Jerusalem, Israel Radio reported. No casualties were reported, but some damage was caused.

BZU STUDENT JAILED

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Amjad Arar, a student at Bir Zeit University, to 2.5 years in prison and 2 years suspended on security charges. Arar, a resident of Karawah village in the Ramallah area, was detained 4 months ago.

BETHLEHEM U. STUDENT PROTEST

Students at Bethlehem University suspended studies and held a rally to protest Israeli repressive measures against residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, particularly deportations and house demolitions. Representatives of student factions called for national unity among Palestinians as a measure to confront the Israeli practices.

ARAB POLICEMAN MURDERED IN RAFAH

The body of an Arab policeman was found outside his house in the town of Rafah in the Gaza Strip. The policeman, Zuheir Mohammed al-Tantawi, 28, had been stabbed to death with a knife. The body was taken to the Forensic Institute in Abu Kabir for an autopsy.

Halhoul

Continued from page 1

In some neighbourhoods of Halhoul, residents reported shots being fired in the air further terrorising the population. Damage was estimated in the thousands of Jordanian dinars.

The settlers' vigilante action in the town continued for three hours before the army moved in to evacuate them. Residents said settlers stayed in the streets until way past midnight and no one attempted to remove them. They said the settlers then left the town and soldiers were instead seen in the streets.

Even though this was the fourth such attack on Halhoul by Kiryat Arba residents, the army has not intervened to protect the civilian population in any of the attacks.

Israeli press reports quoting passengers on the Egged bus said the passengers, most of whom were from Kiryat Arba returning from Jerusalem, were taken by surprise by the attack. Even though most were armed, the report said, none fired back.

The bus sped from the ambush area to Hebron's military government headquarters where it informed the military. The wounded were then transferred to a Jerusalem hospital for treatment. Five of the injured received minor cuts and were later released. Two remain hospitalised in fair condition.

Khaled

Continued from page 7

administration. The excuses they are giving are that "he's too famous, he's too well-known, he's internationally known as a leading figure so we cannot deal with him." It's as if they want to say that they want unknown people, which means that they want people who have nothing to do with the Palestinian struggle or Palestinian policy making. Now, if that is really what they want, it means that they want neither negotiations nor even discussions. What's the use of talking to people who have no access to leadership, who cannot say yes or no, who cannot even lead a discussion? This proves the illogic of their explanation. It is an attempt to use time until they are finally unable to run away from it, or they will simply have to say yes.

Q: How do you personally read this American inconsistency; on the one hand saying that they want to talk to members of the PNC even if they are appointed by the PLO, while on the other hand, they don't want to talk with someone such as yourself because, they argue, you are too well-known. How do you read that?

A: Well, we have to also make it very clear that the first rejection to all the names came from Israel, and American policy cannot contradict, publicly, the Israeli position, especially at the early stages. They need an outlet. Then they started raising these excuses which are not accepted by American terms of diplomacy and policy or by logic. Secondly, they say that they need time to be able to do something. Then there's another question: why did the Americans send the names to the Israelis? If the Americans say that Israel has no right to dictate to the United States with whom they may or may not speak, why did they send them the names? Murphy said that this was a mistake because it brought a conflict between the United States and Israel and that makes the American position more difficult. Kissinger is quoted as saying that the restrictions on talking to the PLO, which were made in 1974, are no longer valid because the entire situation has changed and the conditions which led to the restrictions no longer exist. There is no further justification to not talking with the PLO. He said that he is willing to state this officially if asked.

Q: Who did he say this to?

A: To King Hussein as far as I know. Even in his recent articles about the issue he is running away from the PLO question, explaining that nothing will come out of these discussions because the time is not suitable and the issue is not hot enough. That means, as he used to say to Sadat, that unless there is a hot issue, and in the Middle East that means war, there is no room for progres, for a solution. If that is the American logic, then it is a message to the Arab leadership to understand that they must concentrate on the military alternative, if not as the only alternative, at least as the top priority in the formula for progress towards any type of solution. If that is American thinking, it's really horrible.

Q: You are saying that the PLO, even as an organisation, has not heard from the United States approval or disapproval?

A: No, not yet. Officially, no.

Q: How long, therefore, can the PLO wait for a US reply to those names?

A: We can wait, that is not the problem. We are not freezing all of our movements waiting for the Americans to say yes or no. Accordingly, we will decide our next step. We are following our strategy. If we are going to adopt any change, it will be after the positive or negative reply from the United States Administration. Otherwise, we are moving within the framework of our strategy. There is no time limit for that, as far as the whole idea is concerned. But, we would like to see things move quickly in a positive way because although we are very sure of the future, we would like to see it in our lifetimes. We would like to pay as little as possible in terms of the energy and strength of our people who are continually challenged in the struggle. We are paying a high price and we would like to reduce that price.

Q: You certainly must be thinking of the fact that the Reagan Administration is in the second half of its last term; while in Israel's Likud-Labour coalition, Shamir is scheduled to take over as Prime Minister next September. So, you are actually working against some deadlines.

A: You know, this is not the first time that we are facing this kind of problem. As a matter of fact, the Israeli elections, the American elections, are becoming a part of the struggle in the Middle East because there is always an excuse to delay by the Americans. Recently, even the European elections have started to take their place as an obstacle towards a clear, positive stand by the American Administration. So, every two years we have congressional elections, every four years we have presidential elections. That means that every two years we have the problem of elections in the United States. Whether it was the first term or the last term of the Reagan Administration doesn't really matter because next year he has to face the congressional elections. As a Republican, Reagan has to take care of the party, and they are concerned with gaining the majority in the Congress as well as in the Senate. So, these things go on around the clock. It's not a matter of every 10 or 15 years having such a time, that we have to take hold of whatever opportunity or risk waiting another 10 or 15 years. It goes on around the clock. If you add to that the Israeli elections, which are always used by the American Administration as an excuse to delay their stand, you can say that every year we face the problem of elections. So there's nothing new with that. So that's why we have our strategy, and we go on with it. When the Americans change, they will find us ready to discuss the changes, either positively or negatively.

Q: Assuming that the United States rejects the list of names submitted to them by the PLO, could, or rather, would the PLO actually provide another list of names? Or do you think that such a move would really be giving the United States too much?

A: First of all, I don't think that the Americans or the Israelis or any other party has the right to dictate to any other party the names of those who represent it. So, politically speaking, legally speaking, practically speaking, they have no right. But, on the other hand, we have to be clever enough not to allow ourselves to be blamed for putting obstacles in the path. That is why we were very careful in selecting names, especially for the first round. Now we cannot do anything further than that. They can either accept all of the names, or some of the names, or reject them all. We are not going to change name by name. Otherwise, it means that we are nothing. It means that we are just following the lines of our enemy, the Israeli line. So, submission of an alternate list is impossible. I would like to quote what was said by King Hussein himself. Hussein said that he was afraid that the time would come when even he would be marked as a man not acceptable for negotiations, that is, if this type of logic continues to exist.

Q: Is the king basing this idea on the fact that Israel was the one who rejected the Palestinians in the first place, and so, Israel may reject King Hussein at some point?

A: Then, automatically, the Americans will reject it, under the premise that Israel has no right to dictate to the US the names of the people that they talk to.

Q: Some say there are certain peace-oriented groups and individuals in Israel, American friends of the Palestinian people, and even some Europeans, who believe that you could actually double, if not triple, your support among peace-minded groups and individuals throughout the world, if a respected and well-known PLO leader would merely stand up and say outrightly, "Yes, we do accept the demands such as 242, 338, etc, in exchange for..." How do you feel about that?

A: First of all, in politics, timing is very important. Secondly, it's of no use to make such statements if you are given nothing in return. Thirdly, we have a saying, "You can force marriage, but you cannot force love." What you are asking is to force love. Love is a two-way street. Those who really want peace should read the resolutions adopted by the PNC, and the statements that have been issued by the Palestinian leadership, particularly Yasir Arafat's statements. If they would read the Fez agreement, also known as the Arab Peace Plan, which is based upon international law, and then read the Jordanian-Palestinian Accord, the mechanism of Fez, it is clearly explained that by international law we mean all of the United Nation's resolutions including the decisions of the Security Council. Those who claim to want peace have to understand this. This is a very clear exchange of policy messages. So, if they are really honest, they will have to cope with that and understand what it means. But, to say that, in advance, without any assurances of an exchange, we are ready to do X, Y, and Z, is to sell everything and gain nothing. To depend solely upon the generosity of the other side is something that only a fool would do.

Q: You are saying then, that there are statements and resolutions by the PNC, as well as statements by Chairman Arafat, which actually meet some of these demands?

A: They have met all of these demands in a way which merits a response from the other side, whether it be the Americans or the Israelis. But this response was never delivered, so why make more statements or send more messages? For instance, the Americans have said, "Why don't you accept 242?" We have answered, "Why don't you add self-determination to 242, and then we can accept it." They want to take everything without giving anything in return. This is neither politics nor realistic policy. ■

On the Road with BZU Work Campers

BZU campers mixing cement at al-Ama'ri refugee camp.

by Kate Rouhana

For the last five years, Bir Zeit University has organised and sponsored summer work camps for foreigners and Palestinians alike. Three 10-day sessions run back-to-back from the last week of August to the end of September. Participants are taken all over the occupied territories to lend a hand in refugee camps and villages where volunteer physical labour is needed.

In order to find out what a typical day entails at the Bir Zeit work camp, I decided to spend a day on the road with the group during the third session. Ali Hassouni, the camp organiser, suggested that I come the night before and stay over because the camp bus would be leaving at 6:30 am.

Gruelling Schedule

I arrived at Bir Zeit at 8:30 pm Thursday, September 12. In the cafeteria down by the gate to the new campus, I found several campers who had not gone on the day's trip to the Golan Heights awaiting the group's return. They still had a long wait ahead of them: the bus did not return until 10:00 pm. The campers were exhausted from long hours on the bus (which had left at 5:00 am) and the apple-picking they had done for a Druze family in Majdal Shams.

They were rewarded for their efforts by a rare hot meal of barbecued chicken in the cafeteria. Some of the campers complained that instead of receiving a hot meal once a day they were told to 'eat like Palestinians' — bread, *hummus*, and cheese. Though it is true that Palestinians love *hummus*, the campers told me it was a bit much to expect to eat it every day.

After the meal, camp leader Ali Hassouni, who is in charge of organising all volunteer work at BZU, took me up the driveway to the camp. On the way he explained that the daily agenda is planned by the Bir Zeit student council in conjunction with women's committees and voluntary organisations throughout the occupied territories. Organisers ask these groups to scout out places where help is most needed and where useful projects can be completed in a day. Bir Zeit covers all costs of food and transportation; participants need only pay their airfare and donate their time and labour.

This year people had come from the US, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Sweden and Norway to participate. There are also a number of BZU students who join the work camp each year to fulfil the graduation requirements. At Bir Zeit, students must put in 120 hours of community work to graduate, in addition to their course load.

Another reason for having a Palestinian group join the camp is to give the foreign participants a chance to socialise and make friends with Palestinians. However, many of the foreign women campers complained to me of the unbalanced distribution of Palestinian men to women in the local delegation. There was only one Palestinian girl in the group, hardly enough to give the foreign girls a chance to make friends. Instead, they said, some of the local guys seemed to concentrate on making friends with the foreign girls, something the girls told me they opposed. So very little real contact between the local and foreign delegations took place.

On the way to the campsite, Hassouni also explained that campers take turns during guard duty each night. We reached the camp by climbing up an embankment on some rough hewn stone steps. About 10 large tents were nestled together in a pine grove, lit by electric bulbs strung up by wire. Palestinians and foreigners sat in small groups here and there; some campers had already retired to their tents.

Hassouni picked up a sleeping bag that had been left on the ground by its last inhabitant, shook it out, and pointed out the girls' tents to me. "You can also sleep outside," he said. "Some people prefer to sleep under the stars. With that, he departed, and I was left on my own to explain myself to three sleeping girls in a pitch-black tent.

With some trepidation, I lifted the flap and introduced myself to the darkness. It turned out that I met only a friendly welcome and curiosity. It seemed that meeting new strangers was not unusual at the work camp, and a kind of spirit of openness and acceptance was the rule rather than the exception.

The girls grumbled somewhat about their rudimentary sleeping quarters — the ground was probably getting rougher with each passing night — but hastened to assure me that the work camp, which was nearing its end, had been an intense and rewarding experience. They might have also benefited from the added experience of staying in a Palestinian home a night or two during the trip, they said.

On the Bus

The next morning promptly at 6:00 am, camp organisers went from tent to tent issuing a cheery "good morning" to the groggy inhabitants. The bus was due to depart at 6:30 am, so everyone pulled on his or her work clothes and quickly had a cup of tea and some bread and cheese. Some of my tentmates opted to skip breakfast, they said, because they were a little tired by this time of the same fare and, besides, the tea and cheese which were served directly on the ground were often covered with bees, possibly all part of the 'roughing it' programme of the camp.

The early morning air was fresh and surprisingly not too cold, although a trace of mist could still be seen hanging about the evergreens. The destination for the day — which happened to be the last of the season — was the Gaza Strip. During the three-hour bus ride, campers talked eagerly of their week's activities and impressions. One day, they told me, they had gone to work in a village where the home of a 'security offender' had recently been demolished, and they were astounded and saddened by the heap of stone and steel that remained.

Another day they had gone to Arrabeh village in the Galilee to see Palestinian life "inside". There they built a stone wall. Another trip had been to Jenin refugee camp, where they helped residents clear up the streets. On the way back from the camp, they had their first taste of a curfew when the bus was stopped outside Jenin (where an Israeli had been shot a few days earlier) and rerouted on a detour on small backroads around the city.

At a certain point, the bus had been stopped at a roadblock. Israeli soldiers got on and searched everyone's belongings thoroughly. They found some literature in the bag of a BZU student, one of the camp organisers, which was enough in their eyes to warrant his arrest. He was detained for 24 hours, and again the campers experienced the reality of life under occupation firsthand. They were particularly impressed by the way the Palestinian students took the whole affair so nonchalantly, a reaction which drove home the idea that unexpected arrests were not unusual.

"I know people would say I should see both sides of the story," said one American. "But after this week — seeing a demolished house and having one of our group arrested for no reason — I don't think there can possibly be any plausible other side to the story. It's just wrong."

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How one BZU camper became interested in volunteer work...

Isabel Demuynck, 24, is a social worker in Brussels who participated in a number of work camps. Isabel was introduced to problems of the Third World through her volunteer work with the British-based Oxfam organisation. She was interested in the situation in South Africa and Latin America. Later in 1983, she joined a Belgium-based organisation called Orientalia. Orientalia supports projects for women's development in refugee camps throughout the Middle and Near East.

In 1985 the Belgian government announced that it was willing to send 57 Belgian youth to carry out volunteer work anywhere in the world. After consulting with Orientalia officials, Isabel sought permission from the government to come to the West Bank and work in the various Palestinian refugee camps. The government agreed and she came to the area primarily to work in camps in conjuncture with the YWCA. But when Isabel reached Jerusalem she was appointed to work on summer camp projects with middle-class Palestinian children.

After spending a few weeks in Jerusalem Isabel left and joined the volunteer work camp in Nazareth. During work in Nazareth she met a number of Palestinians who spoke French. They asked her if she would like to help out in the volunteer work camp in their village Rameh. She agreed and she was one of the few foreigners to help out in that work camp.

Concerning what she observed while in Palestine, Isabel said she was struck by the large number of soldiers. She also felt that seeing things for oneself is much more fulfilling than hearing or reading about them. "In Belgium, we hear very little of what goes on here," she said. On the Palestinian problem, she says that she always wanted to know why Jews were doing what they do to Palestinians. "I cannot agree with their methods. They are doing the same things as what was happening to them in Germany," she said.

Isabel took a lot of photos and she plans to prepare a photo *montage* to show to schools and other community groups on behalf of Orientalia. With Orientalia, she hopes that the Belgian government would agree to subsidise YWCA projects. She says that Belgium makes a list of countries to help and she hopes she can include the occupied territories on the list.

Isabel Demuynck (wearing headband) takes a rest after a long day in the BZU work camp in August.